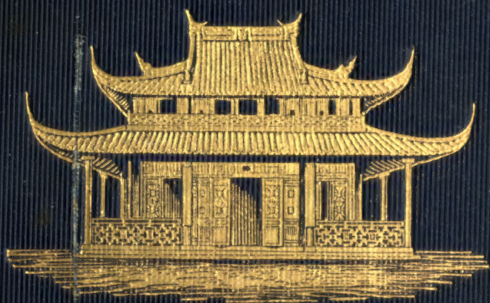




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JOHN INNOCENT
A Story of Mission Work
in North China



G. T. CANDLIN



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John Innocent.

JOHN INNOCENT:

A STORY OF MISSION WORK
IN NORTH CHINA.

By

G. T. CANDLIN.

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CONTENTS.

FOREWORD.

Value of life lies in achievement; With very eminent may be otherwise, xi. For ordinary Biography this the test; John Innocent full right to remembrance, xii. His story the story of the Mission; Chief among its makers, xiii. One of the first two to arrive on field; Work he did permanent in its effects, xiv.

PART I.

From Birth to the Commencement of Missionary Work in Tientsin, 1829 to 1861.

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE.

Birth; Hall born; New Connexion family; Grandfather a cutler; Grandmother pious, 1. Uncle William N.C. minister; Parents attended Allen Street Sunday School; 1845, Member at Scotland Street; Education meagre, 2. Thirst for knowledge; Conversion; P. T. Gilton; Night class study of Latin, 3. Dream, 5. Teacher and tract distributor; Began to preach at nineteen, 6. Grandparents' home; Remarkable grandmother, 7. Met John Addyman, 8. General effect of youthful influences, 9.

CHAPTER II.

APPRENTICESHIP IN THE ENGLISH MINISTRY.

Apprenticeship in West considered desirable for business men in the East; M.N.C. has acted on this principle, 10. First Missionary taken from home ranks; Innocent at twenty-one minister at Stockport; Supply for Hall; 1851, Supply Burslem Circuit; 1852, Accepted as probationer; North Shields; Newcastle District, 11. Met Miss Tate, 12. Sent to Stockport; Mr. Ephraim Hallam; Bilston Circuit—seriously ill; 1855, Went to Jersey, 13. 1856, Married at North Shields; Went to Jersey; Sent to Truro, 14. Experience of English ministry useful in Missionary life, 15.

CHAPTER III.

THE CALL.

1859, Manchester Conference; Large Connexional increase; Prosperous condition of Connexion; New Mission to China proposed, 16. Treaty of peace with China signed by Lord Elgin year before; John Angell James's Appeal; Interest of Conference

Contents

in Missions, 17. Mission to China not universally approved; Resolution carried in the Conference; Missionary Committee enthusiastic; Previous discussions in the Church; Foreign Mission decided on, 18. "God's Voice from China"; Opening of ports; Other Missionary Societies active; China appears on list of Stations, 1859 — "John Innocent and Another," 20. Hall's appointment; His enthusiasm; Medical certificate, 21. Ways and means; £1,000 promised at Conference; Other funds forthcoming, 22. Call to go to China; "Favourable consideration," 23. Accepted, 24. Greatness of the call to the Missionary life, 25.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CHOICE OF THE FIELD.

Chinese Empire; Geographical area larger than that of Europe, 28. Fine climate; Rich in products, 29. Dense population, 30. Characteristics of people, 31. China the country of great non-Christian religions, 32. Conquest of great religions by conciliation, not mere antagonism, 34.

CHAPTER V.

THE PASSAGE OUT.

The passage out; Preparation; Leave-taking, 36. Valedictory, Woodhouse Lane; Getting on board, 37. Length of passage; Feelings at departure, 38. Accommodation, 39. Taking bath; Stormy weather; Jonahs aboard; Landed at Portsmouth; Return of Mrs. Hall and child, 40. And Mr. Innocent's son; List of Passengers; Sea-sickness, 41. Flight of albatross; Pelew Islanders; The baby, 42. Fishing smacks; Sight mainland of China; Land at Shanghai; Welcome, 43. Rest, 44.

CHAPTER VI.

THE YEAR AT SHANGHAI. A SERIOUS CHANGE OF PURPOSE.

Disturbed state on arrival; Allies in Peking; New Treaty, 45. Repulse at Taku Forts; American Envoy refused audience, 46. Friendships formed in Shanghai; Wylie and Bible Society work, 47. Visit to Suchow; Threatened by rebels, 49. Two subsequent visits; Cause of Tai-ping insurrection, 51. Dangerously ill, 52. Sent to Chefoo, 53. Return; Mrs. Innocent's joy, 55. Determination to go North, 56. Mr. Hall reluctant, 57. Innocent firm; His reasons, 59. Arrival at Tientsin; Suchow occupied by Methodist Episcopal Mission, 60. Table showing the date of foundation of the principal Protestant Missions in China, with place where begun, 61.

PART II.

From the Commencement of Missionary Work in Tientsin to the Death of Mr. Hall, 1861 to 1878.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CITY OF TIENTSIN.

The "Heavenly fords"; Situated at junction of many streams; Size of city, 62. Suburbs; Rampart; Electric trams, 63. Settlements; Trade of port; population; Important official centre; Li Hung Chang; Yuan Shih Kai, 64. Tientsin a modern city; Ta Chih Ku and Hsiao Chih Ku; Destined to be great railway centre, 65. Trunk line to Europe of future; Progressive city, 66. Education; Newspapers; Leads Empire politically, 67. Choice as Mission centre a wise choice, 68.

CHAPTER VIII.

AT TIENTSIN. A PEEP INTO THE DOMESTICITIES OF A MISSIONARY.

Dr. Blodget in Tientsin; His removal to Peking, 69. April 6th; Letter to Mrs. Innocent, 70. Words of comfort; Desires Mrs. Innocent to join him; Choosing a house, 71. Preaching to English soldiers; Cost of servants and provisions; Washing bill, 73. Dust storms; Summer heat; Fur garments, 75. Mr. Innocent's affectionate nature; Skilful comforter, 77. Early riser; List of residents, 78. Mrs. Innocent's arrival; Extract from Mrs. Edkin's "Chinese Scenes and People," 79.

CHAPTER IX.

FIRST BEGINNINGS. THE EARLY YEARS FROM 1861 TO 1866.

Singing hymns in Mr. Blodget's church; Walks and talks, 81. Founds a Boys' School, 83. Mr. Hall arrives, 85. Annie Innocent born; Mrs. Hall arrives; Mrs. Hall's death, 88. Hu Ngen Ti joins Mission, 89. Hu as a preacher, 90. Effect of preaching on Tientsin people, 91. Girls' School opened, 94. Drum Tower North Chapel, 95. First ten converts, 96. Arrival of Mr. Stanley, 97. Lord's Supper first administered in Tientsin, 98. Personal interest in members, 99. Excellence of first converts, 100. Tientsin Church firmly established, 102.

CHAPTER X.

THE STUDY OF THE LANGUAGE.

Study of Chinese a life-long task, 103. Literary language, 104. Ideographic and monosyllabic, 105. Abounds in homophones, 106. Unique principle of agglutination, 108. Great difference

Contents

between Classic language and dialects, 109. Application, 111. His simplicity and clearness of speech, 114. Teacher Ting, 115.

CHAPTER XI.

THE FOUNDING OF AN ENGLISH CHURCH.

Union Church, Tientsin, 117. Its erection, 118. Opened, 119. Tablets to Hall and Williamson, 120. Rapid growth from 1890 to 1900, 122. Innocent one of its most acceptable preachers; appointed pastor, 123.

CHAPTER XII.

EXPLORING AND EVANGELISTIC TOURS.

Northern China little known, 124. Great names of China belong North; Travelling, 126. Evangelizing en route, 127. Tact in addressing crowd, 128. List of tours, 129. Great Wall, 130. Lama Miao, 131.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CALL TO LAO LING.

Story of the Dreamer, 134. Steps taken by Hall; First visits of Hu, Hall and Innocent to Lao Ling, 135. Remarkable awakening, 136. Aspect of country; Chu Chia village; Chinese method of naming, 138. Mr. Innocent's second visit, 141. True value of movement, 142.

CHAPTER XIV.

OCCUPYING THE NEW FIELD. PERSECUTION, BEREAVEMENT AND PERIL.

Hodge and Thompson arrive, 145. Attempt at country residence; Growing success, 146. Assault on colporteur, 147. Loss of infant son, 148. Many stations opened; The Nien Fei rebels, 150. Exciting adventures; In rebel hands, 151. Arrival of Turnock, 154. Hodge takes charge of Lao Ling, 155.

CHAPTER XV.

ON FURLOUGH.

In England, 1869 to 1871; Furlough a busy rest, 156. Pleasure at meeting old friends, 157. Deputation work, 158. Innocent as advocate for Missions, 159. Letter to Dr. Stacey on return to China, 160.

CHAPTER XVI.

TIENTSIN CHURCH IN TRIBULATION. BEFORE AND AFTER THE MASSACRE.

Tientsin Church prosperous; Kung Pei Chapel opened, 162. Wang Yi Hua, 165. Hodge and Williamson attacked, 168.

Williamson killed, 169. Tientsin Massacre, 170. Description of scene, 171. General alarm, 174. Innocent's return to China; Floods in Tientsin, 175. Hall goes on furlough, 177. A dangerous placard, 178.

CHAPTER XVII.

FOUNDING THE TRAINING INSTITUTION.

Ideal of Foreign Missionary work, 181. Beginning of Training Institution; Hall placed in charge, 183. Number of students in various years, 184. Funds begged by Hall, 185. Innocent's interest in work, 187. Chang Chih San tutor for forty-two years, 188. Proposal from Methodist Episcopal Mission, 190.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FAMINE SCENES AND DEATH OF MR. HALL.

Attempt to enter Ching Hai; Yang Hsin work opens, 191. Sun Tzü Ch'un, 192. The Great Famine, 193. Hodge's health broken, 194. Hall's death, 195. Interment; Text of Cenotaph in Union Church, 196. Hodge's return and death, 197. Table showing the Statistical Returns of the Mission at intervals of five years, 198.

PART III.

From the Commencement of Residence in the Interior to the Death of Mr. Innocent, 1878 to 1904.

CHAPTER XIX.

RESIDENCE IN INTERIOR AND FOUNDING OF MEDICAL MISSIONS.

Situation after the death of Mr. Hall; Arrival of Messrs. Robinson, Stenhouse, Candlin, Hinds, 199. Medical work opened at Chu Chia, 202. Dispensary burnt down; Formation of Hospital Committee, 204. Ordination of Mr. Hu, 206. His death; Chan Hua handed over to us, 207. Taku; Hsing Chi, 209. Death of Shen Chih Fu, 210.

CHAPTER XX.

ESTABLISHMENT OF GIRLS' SCHOOL AND WOMEN'S WORK.

MR. INNOCENT BEREAVED OF HIS ELDEST DAUGHTER.

The women of China, 211. Annie Innocent's offer, 214. Her sudden death, 217. Mrs. Innocent raises funds for Girls' School; School built; Miss Waller appointed, 219. Noted women—Mrs. Hu, 220.

Contents

CHAPTER XXI.

OPENING OF NORTHERN CIRCUITS, TANGSHAN AND YUNG P'ING.

Different principles that govern the method of opening stations, 222. Tangshan a deliberately-selected field; Invitation to go to Peking, 224. Innocent and Hinds visit Tangshan, 225. Hinds first to reside, 227. Yung P'ing, 229. Tangshan and Yung P'ing membership, 231.

CHAPTER XXII.

MR. INNOCENT'S SON APPOINTED AS A MISSIONARY. THE FATHER'S RESIDENCE IN SHANTUNG, AND GEORGE INNOCENT'S UNTIMELY DEATH.

George Innocent comes to Tientsin, 232. His history and characteristics, 233. The "myriad-name robe"; Floods and famine, 235. George goes on furlough; Father to Lao Ling; Dr. Shrubshall, 237. Revision of register, 238. George in England, 239. Death aboard ship and burial at Hong-Kong, 240.

CHAPTER XXIII.

LATER YEARS OF SERVICE AND FINAL RETURN TO ENGLAND.

Appointed to Training Institution; Dr. F. W. Marshall and Rev. J. K. Robson arrive, 242. Jones and Hedley arrive, 243. Chang Hsao Hsüen, 244. Robinson ill, 245. Re-organization. First appointment of Financial Secretary, 248. Theological Committee formed, 249. Mission Provident Society; Code of Rules, 250. Mr. Innocent's attitude, 252. Bible Society work, 253. Temperance work; War with Japan, 254. Holds enlarged District Meeting and departs for home, 257.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE GREAT BOXER UPRISING.

Magnitude of the disturbance, 258. Causes, 259. The Boxer Society, 260. Begins serious operations, 262. Norman and Robinson killed, 264. Peking Legations and Tientsin besieged, 265. Hair-breadth escapes in the interior, 267. List of persons massacred on the Mission, 268. Missionary martyrs, 272. List, 273. Destruction of property; What Li Fu passed through, 277. Monument in Shanghai; Outcome, 280.

CHAPTER XXV.

RETIREMENT.

Elected President, 284. Lives at Nottingham, 285. The labourer's seven years' rest; Hallowed old age, 287. Last sickness and death, 288. Personal characteristics, 291. Testimonies, 295. Conclusion, 304.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

John Innocent	<i>Frontispiece</i>
	<i>Facing Page</i>
Mrs. Innocent	14
Tientsin: Junk Sailing	30
Tientsin: Palace North Street	42
River Pei-ho, Tientsin	56
A Tea Booth in Tientsin	66
Tientsin: Chinese Junks	74
Tientsin: Old Clothes Street	82
Tientsin: Park on British Concession, with Town Hall in the Background	92
G. T. Candlin	106
The Old Union Church, Tientsin	118
The New Union Church, Tientsin	122
Gateway of Chu Chia Village, Shantung	134
Chapel, Schools, and Hospital, Chu Chia	142
Chu Chia Chapel	156
Taku Road, Tientsin	168
The First Training Institute, Tientsin	184
William Nelthorpe Hall	196
Miss Annie Edkins Innocent	214
Tientsin: Side View of City Corner Chapel	224
George M. H. Innocent	234
New Chapel: Tientsin	244
North China Missionaries (M.N.C.) and their Families, Tientsin, 1894	256
City Corner Chapel, Tientsin: Opening Service	282
Dr. W. W. Shrubshall	290

PREFACE.

THIS volume should have appeared at least two years earlier. But the exigencies of mission work have persistently blocked the way, and while the author is alone responsible for the delay, he cannot say that he feels much to blame. He has often reproached himself for his slow progress, but there was no help for it. The exceptionally heavy duties laid upon him during the past four years must be his justification. Considering the circumstances under which it has been written, the wonder to himself is that it has been produced at all. Mission work must be first done before it can be described, and on a mission which, so far as English agents are concerned, is under-staffed, an added duty like that involved in the preparation of this memoir becomes very onerous.

This must also be an excuse for many imperfections. No one is more conscious of them than the author. In some places, notwithstanding the effort to prevent it, repetitions have crept in, and in regard to many things his information has not been adequate.

The earlier part of the story of the mission has been told at considerably greater length than the latter. This may to some minds suggest a sense of disproportion. The object aimed at was to give, if possible, all the information available of the earlier years, as the knowledge of them is fast fading away, and any disproportion that may arise may be trusted to later writers to redress.

It is known to many persons that the Leeds Conference of 1891 requested Mr. Innocent himself to prepare a history of the mission. The book never appeared, although he had done a considerable amount of work in its preparation. His manuscript, as well as the papers which he used as sources, have been available for compiling the present Life, and have been freely drawn upon. It has been an endeavour, while telling Mr. Innocent's life story, to supply the place, as far as possible, of the missing volume.

If this work helps to increase the knowledge of the North China Mission among the members of the United Methodist Church the writer's toil will be well repaid.

Tientsin, December 8th, 1908.

TABLE OF DATES.

Dr. Morrison arrived in China	...	...	...	Sept. 4, 1807
Opium Dispute commenced	...	...	...	1834
Protestant Missions started in Shanghai	...	...	...	1843
Tai-ping Rebellion broke out in Kuanghsi	...	...	...	1850
Nanking (Southern Capital), the seat of the Mings, taken by the rebels	...	...	...	1853
Lord Elgin's expedition arrives and concludes the Treaty of Tientsin	...	...	...	1858
Hall and Innocent sailed for China	...	...	...	Oct. 21, 1859
They arrived in Shanghai	...	...	...	Mar. 23, 1860
Treaty of Tientsin ratified at Peking	...	...	...	Oct. 24, 1860
Suchow taken by the rebels	...	...	...	June 4, 1860
Mr. Innocent arrived in Tientsin...	...	...	...	April 4, 1861
General Gordon recaptured Suchow	...	Nov. 27 and 28,	...	1863
Nanking recaptured by Gordon, Tien Wang commits suicide, Kun Wang and Chang Wang cut into a thousand pieces,	...	...	...	July 18, 1864
Nien Fei rebels in the north, threatened Peking	...	...	...	1865

FOREWORD.

THE value of a life lies in its achievement. This may not always be true, but it is true of the great majority of human lives. They are to be judged by the "deeds done in the body." Of the very distinguished few whose names belong to history, remarkable qualities of mind, singular and eventful incidents, or the strange workings of passion, whether for good or evil, irrespective of any contribution to human welfare, may be deemed worthy of record. Their story may even derive its chief value from what they seemed eminently fitted, but utterly failed, to achieve. They may be fruitless flowers on the tree of life, admonitory alike by their beauty and their barrenness. But such is the claim of the very rarest natures only.

If Biography were confined to these, it would be poor indeed, and the story of many thousands of simpler lives, with the manifold useful lessons to be drawn from them would be untold. On the contrary it is the chief function of Biography to mediate for us between the few celebrated and famous among the sons of men, the merest accidents of whose career are interesting to us, and the countless millions whose just end is to be unremembered, by retaining in our recollection the memory of all those by whose lives any considerable result has been accomplished, any real, though it may be very modest, part in the sum total of the world's work secured. Every epitaph asserts the naturalness of the instinct to perpetuate the memory of even the simplest and least significant of lives, and

few have passed the usual span without leaving behind loving and faithful hearts whose desire to preserve and publish their story could not be satisfied with less than a moderate-sized volume. Go we all must, indeed, when the dread summoner summons; but usually there is "the love that will not let us go," without painfully scanning for what may justify our survival in "weak, human memory" for a generation beyond our own. Who shall decide how far fond affection shall be indulged? By what intelligible principle are we to determine what are the lives justly entitled to a partial immortality, and what are the lives whose wisest and kindest treatment is forgetfulness?

The value of a life lies in its achievement. "Something accomplished, something done," constitutes an indefeasible title to a place in the big, biographical book of life. Where no notable result appears, the funeral oration, with its gracious law of "*nil nisi bonum*," should be allowed to prevail. But he who leaves behind the enduring impress of his life in a monument of work accomplished has full right to be enshrined in the pages of biography.

Judged by this test John Innocent has "a perfect certificate." His right to a place in the voluminous annals of the Christian Church is full and undeniable. The world at large may not know, and may not care to know, his story, but the "Acts of the Apostles" is not complete without it. Especially has he a peculiarly sacred claim to a lasting place in the love and reverence of the Church to which all his life, a long life of unselfish, persevering labour, was given. His claim to fame (fame amongst us at least) rests on this ground solely, but rests here in perfect security. It is that of the worker living in his work. He was one of our

Foreword

makers. Now that his bodily presence is withdrawn, what he has made remains, and he, in a very real sense, remains with it, and in it. Its story cannot be told without him. The worker and his work are one in God. We have no more right to forget him than to abandon the work he commenced and founded. Both have to be continued.

This, also, must be the justification for the form which this work assumes. It is deliberately intended as a sketch of the life of a missionary, indeed, but also of the story of the mission, his mission. The best tribute of affection will be grateful remembrance of the work done. If, at times, we seem to be paying more attention to the work than to the man, let our readers remember that he himself would have it so, that this is the best way to tell his story. A clear conception of his life's work will be his most faithful portrait. He would desire no other. Let us not desire any other.

John Innocent, more than any other man, has been the builder up of our North China Mission. He was identified with it for a much longer period than any one else. John Innocent was first to volunteer for service in China. He had long wished to be a missionary, and had made an offer to go to Australia, which was not accepted. As early as 1858, while in Halifax, his thoughts turned to China. He was first appointed with one to be sent. Mr. Hall then volunteered. Mr. Hall and he were associated with the mission equally from the beginning. They left the shores of England together, arrived in China together, and when, in 1878, his colleague was taken away, all the work which they had done together was left on his hands. At that stage, such workers as had joined them had been taken

away. One only remained, and he had but just arrived. His work continued for twenty years longer. To the day of his death, though far from the field, the mission was his chief interest.

John Innocent was the first to arrive on the field we have permanently occupied. He was chiefly responsible for the choice of that field. He had the largest hand in shaping the policy of the mission. It bears the stamp of his mind. Of those no longer with us, his name is oftenest referred to by our preachers and members. "It was Pastor Innocent who made the Shantung mission stations," was the emphatic and reiterated assertion of one of our members who was in rebellion against authority at one time, and though, at the moment, little notice was taken of the remark, its essential truth has been felt many a time since. It is therefore just to associate the work and growth of the North China Mission, in a specially intimate manner, with the Life of John Innocent.

The value of his life lies in its achievement. The "passing" of the worker does not mean the passing of his work. The ancient, pious prayer, "Establish Thou the work of our hands upon us, yea the work of our hands establish Thou it," follows immediately on the heels of the most searching, the most solemn review of the fugitiveness, the transitoriness of human life which genius, in its most sublime moment, ever penned. Over the far tracts of time the only survivors are the workers living in their work, "surviving, they alone survive, peopling, they alone, the unmeasured solitudes of time."

In the words of steadfast comfort, which ring out from the Book of Revelation, "A Voice from Heaven," which has been the stay of the generations (and what the Spirit "saith" is prefaced by the significant word

Foreword

"Write!") we are told, "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, for they rest from their labours; AND THEIR WORKS DO FOLLOW THEM." Not, as we so often erroneously construe, follow them to where they have gone. That is indeed, a true meaning, but not the deepest, not the most encouraging. The blessedness is not so much in the fact that their works follow thither, as that they follow here, stretching their life of action, their tribute of service, into far-reaching benefits and bounties, which remain endless in consequence, through ages to come, within the sphere of this earthly life; "carrying fragrance" as the Chinese proverb has it "for a myriad years." Here, multiplying their brief life-force to spiritual issues, which operate while they rest, their works yet potently working the while they sweetly rest, "their works do follow them."

"Write!"

JOHN INNOCENT:

THE MAN AND HIS WORK.

PART I.

From Birth to the Commencement of Missionary
Work in Tientsin, 1829 to 1861.

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE.

JOHN INNOCENT was born in the town of Sheffield on October 10th, in the year 1829. The brother Missionary with whom he was destined to be so intimately associated was just six months old at the time, having been born on the 19th of April of the same year, also at Sheffield.

John Innocent's family had belonged to the Methodist New Connexion Church from its beginning. His grandfather was also named John, and he speaks of both his grandparents with peculiar affection and reverence. John, the grandfather, was a cutler and shop-keeper, and was evidently an earnest Methodist. He was one of the original trustees for South Street Chapel; was a class leader at South Street for many years, and held various other offices in the Church. The grandmother was distinguished by equal piety. She took particular pride in the fact that she received

John Innocent

her first class-ticket from the hand of Alexander Kilham, the founder of the Denomination. While the grandson was still a little boy they had already retired from business. Their eldest son, William, was at this time in the ministry, having entered it in 1827, two years before the subject of the present memoir was born. William Innocent died in 1865.

John Innocent's parents seem to have been less closely connected with the Church than his grandparents. Neither of them appears to have been in regular membership, but their son records that they "kept up a family connection with the Denomination." They sent their son to South Street Sunday School. The father was a member of the choir, and John tells us that it was his "childish delight" to go with him and sit in the orchestra behind the pulpit. In some sense, even at that early age, the fair-haired boy had his eye on the pulpit. His parents afterwards removed to another part of the town, and these orchestral delights came to an end. His parents at this time, as he tells us, did not even "attend service regularly," though he is careful to add that "whenever they did so it was in the chapels of the Methodist New Connexion." But the boy's relation to us was never broken. He now attended Allen Street Sunday School, and afterwards attached himself to Scotland Street Chapel, where he became a member in 1845, being sixteen years of age.

Concerning his early education there is next to no information available. It must have been very slender. It was long before the days of Board Schools, and there were not many facilities for the education of children among the working classes. He was evidently a working lad at sixteen, when his conversion took place. He probably had but a limited amount of

school teaching. But it is quite wonderful what a thirst for knowledge the boy had, and this received a strong stimulus in connection with his conversion. His history at this period is one illustration among many thousands of the immense practical benefit which springs from that event in a man's religious history on which Methodists rightly lay so much stress, viz., conversion. Certain it is that in the year 1845 he was working as a grinder, was attending a night school, and came under deep religious influence which resulted in his conversion. Conversion made him a thoroughly earnest student. He ascribes his first religious impressions to the preaching of the Rev. T. P. Gilton, who, in 1845, was Superintendent Minister of Sheffield North. We have the story of these events told in a very simple and lucid way in his own handwriting, and it is well worth transcribing:—

“In 1845 I commenced to attend a night class for the study of Latin, (English) Grammar, Elocution and Composition. I was particularly pleased with the Latin, and used to write out my declensions and conjugations and other exercises on the Lord's Day when kept from school.

“I became a very earnest student according to the time I had, which from the fact that I must work at a laborious employment from seven in the morning until eight at night, was not much. So soon as I got home at night I was off to the school until half-past nine. The morning was the time when I did most, before going to work. I used frequently to write out on a slip of paper the Latin lesson of the morning, or a list of words, and would snatch intervals during work for a glance at this slip of paper, get a word or a conjugation, and repeat it over mentally until it was im-

printed on my mind; then another glance, and so on till the whole was mastered. This had all to be done by stealth, as my father was a severe man and very strict in requiring attention to work and what he ordered.

"In this way, and by various other means, I contrived to be always ready with my exercise in the Latin class at the night school, and left some of my mates far behind. Though I never thoroughly prosecuted the study of Latin, I have always felt the advantage of the study I then gave to it, both as a course of mental discipline, and a means of increasing my knowledge of the English language and grammar.

"When I was about sixteen I yielded to the strong and powerful religious convictions which had long influenced me, and joined the church in Scotland Street, Sheffield. The Rev. Mr. Caughey was on his first visit to England from America, and was in Sheffield at that time. He created great excitement, and I went one night to hear him, but was in a maze. I did not realize any distinct feeling of sorrow for sin, but seemed to be more hardened in it. Yet in the excitement and maze I yielded to the solicitations of a friend and went to the penitent form with many more. I prayed as I was directed, but realized no good. Still, when I went home I was more softened, and solemnly gave my heart to God that very night. I felt more under the preaching of our esteemed minister, the Rev. B. Turnock, who was at that time in Sheffield. To this day, I have vivid remembrances of impressions made on my mind during the delivery of some of his sermons. I had also paid much attention to the addresses delivered in Sunday School, and had derived good from them.

"I joined a class of young men, all new converts,

but could not say with them that I knew my sins forgiven. This caused me great anxiety which lasted for some time. I prayed and meditated on God's Word, attended the means of grace, but I have no recollection of any distinct period when the Lord, for Christ's sake, pardoned my sins. The only thing approximating to such an event was a dream that I had during my intense anxiety in which I thought I saw Jesus, and He said: 'Bless thee, my son!' I woke with most delightful feelings, and from that time was a changed and a happier character.

"Then commenced a series of difficulties and struggles of a new kind. I had determined to avoid everything that had the appearance of evil. The young men with whom I worked and associated must know my new state. Then I became the subject of their jocose humour, of scornful laugh, and wicked taunt. I was even taunted by those near to me [the allusion must be to his own family, but how delicately put!] but I sought grace, and endeavoured to bear all with meek patience. I found they soon grew weary of their taunts and respected my sentiments so much that some of them would even defend me against the attacks of new enemies.

"I formed companions of religious young men, and joined a Young Men's Mutual Improvement meeting in the school. I continued my studies with greater zest. I went to prayer-meetings on Sunday evenings. My reading was now directed into a different course. Religious works were what I sought. They were very dry at first, and I got very little knowledge from them until I met with Dr. Dick's 'Christian Philosopher,' which deeply interested me and gave me information on many subjects of which I had before been ignorant.

It kindled the taste for works of a higher kind than I had previously read. I then read 'Simpson's Plea' and 'Key to the Prophecies,' Paley's 'Natural Theology,' 'Wesley's Life,' and other books which were lent to me.

"I was made a teacher in the Sunday School, and became a tract distributor, in which capacity I continued to exercise myself for a long time. At length I was requested to give an exhortation to a small congregation in a village about five miles from Sheffield. With much fear and trembling, after careful preparation and committing to memory every word I had to say, I attempted." [He evidently broke down more than once, for he continues, as though his incoherence on that first occasion must repeat itself in the after narrative which is also disjointed.] "My second effort was a complete failure, as my memory failed through excitement."

"I was afterwards brought on the plan as a preacher on trial. I was then nearly nineteen years of age. From that time I have endeavoured to preach the Gospel."

We do not know when this narrative was penned. It is a fugitive scrap on six pages of very small note paper evidently penned during Mr. Innocent's early life, for it is almost yellow with age. It is curious to think of these three little sheets having been carried about by their author by sea and land for so long to be, at last, almost our only glimpse into his youthful life. Had Mr. Innocent been able to write the story of his life to the end in this simple, unaffected style it would have been an almost perfect autobiography. The sketch, brief as it is, is charming from its plain and sincere transparency, and no facility in writing could possibly move us more than the direct and lucid

sentences so free from all adornment or art. It is impossible to think of trick, pretence, disguise, or concealment in connection with a story so "unvarnished" and ingenuous. All who have known the man will recognize it as a faithful image of his mind, as vivid as it is modest.

There can be little doubt that it was in the home of his grandparents the youth found the influences and the atmosphere that were most congenial to him and did most to mould his thoughts and ambitions, and give bent and purpose to his life. His grandparents were his spiritual parents. He seems to have spent a good deal of time, much more profitably than he was immediately aware of, in their home. It was the one place in Sheffield which had most social attraction for him. Do we need any stronger testimony than the following that John Innocent's grandmother was no ordinary woman?

"She was always an active member of the Church and intimately acquainted with its ministers, a most diligent and thoughtful reader of the Scriptures. Before they (grandfather and grandmother) had retired from business they had acquired a copy of Dr. Adam Clarke's Commentary, which they carefully read together. Three times had she read through these volumes before I left for China."

Did ever any other grandmother do the like either before or since? One has no hesitation in classing the devout lady at once as the most faithful and devoted reader the worthy old doctor ever had. Could he himself have known her, how proud of his disciple he would have been! We have our own appreciation of Dr. Adam Clarke, and of the Commentary, with its massive accumulations of knowledge illustrative of the

pages of Scripture. It was truly by no means the dullest of the old-time Commentaries. But for an elderly lady with no sermons to preach, and no examinations in theology to pass, to read it through from end to end of the six big volumes, three times over, from sheer fascination for its pages! One can only take his cue from Dominie Sampson and exclaim: "Prodigious!" The society of such a grandmamma could not fail to be helpful to the budding preacher. One wonders now why he ever broke down. Grandma would never have broken down!

One other glimpse of this interesting household is afforded us:—

"Often, however, would I go with my grandparents to South Street Chapel on Sunday evenings. In that way I met with the ministers in their house who after service called for conversation and a little refreshment. Here I first met with the good John Addyman, on his return from Canada.

"He greatly excited my youthful interest with his stories of Missionary toils and hardships in that new country; and won my profound reverence as a good man. Yea, I then thought him a great man. To this day I have a distinct recollection of the solemn feeling which thrilled me when, after grandfather had told him who I was, he smiled so benignantly upon me, put his hands on my head, and feelingly said: '*God bless you, my boy!*' I felt it to be a true priestly benediction, and attended with holy unction."

There was no Ranmoor then. But we shall not be wrong in regarding this pious home as John Innocent's Training College. The twin forces of heredity and environment are conspicuous here. With such a nest to nurture him there is nothing surprising in the fact that

he shaped rapidly into a preacher. Two entries out of another diary come quite naturally after this: "1847, began to exhort." This was at eighteen. "1850, went to Stockport to take Mr. Hall's appointment for three months." Now twenty-one.

Yes! it was by no means a bad training college. Much is said now about the right training of a Missionary, the course to be read through, the special studies necessary. Out on the mission field we have much to say, as the fruit of experience, on this topic. No doubt much wise advice can be given, and golden maxims are framed, highly calculated for the equipment in the best of everything that shall make the successful Missionary to the heathen.

Yet the beautifully simple home where John Innocent's first ambitions were fired, where the love of kindred was a link of gold holding him to religious associations and filling him with religious impulses; with the company of ministers seen at their best and in their most human aspect in hours of relaxation and freedom, the learning of Dr. Adam Clarke, and Missionaries coming and going with the atmosphere of foreign lands about them—after all, it was a fairly good, if quite unconventional, manufactory for Missionaries.

So now we have John Innocent between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one set about with just those benign and inspiring influences which at eighteen made him an Exhorter, at twenty-one sent him out as a Minister, with the nascent bent toward the romance and the daring of a Missionary career like a dream as yet undreamt within his heart.

CHAPTER II.

APPRENTICESHIP IN THE ENGLISH MINISTRY.

MANY of the English business firms established in the ports of the Far East, and those of China especially, regard it as an absolute *sine qua non* that their staff should have an English training. So much is this the case, that at considerable cost they import clerks, generally on short terms of service, young men necessarily ignorant of the Chinese language, who have had no experience of Eastern customs or Eastern money or the character of the Chinese people (all of which conditions are quite different from those of England), and at great risk of the climate proving unsuitable, rather than employ young men of European parentage born in the East, who speak the language, are conversant with Chinese character and manners, and are well inured to the climate. The advantage of an English business training is considered to more than counter-balance all these considerations. Does any such principle obtain in regard to the choice of a Missionary? Is training in the English ministry previous to coming out an important requisite? Probably without much thought on the matter at all the Missionary Committee of the Methodist New Connexion has uniformly acted as though there does, for with only one notable exception, viz., that of Mr. Innocent's own son, its Missionaries have been chosen from the home ranks. This, of course, does not, as it could not, apply to the choice of Medical Missionaries.

Our first Missionary was taken from the regular ministry. He is fairly entitled to the distinction of our first foreign Missionary as his name appears in the "Minutes" of 1859 in the following form: "China—John Innocent and another." Mr. Hall's name only appears in the "Minutes" of 1860, though he was accepted by the Committee but a few months after the Conference of 1859.

John Innocent's first appearance in the character of a Minister of the Methodist New Connexion was at Stockport at the age of twenty-one. This was in 1850. It was, however, in the humble capacity of a temporary supply. It is an interesting coincidence that the brother whose place he supplied was William Nelthorpe Hall. Mr. Hall had been taken ill during that year, and the young candidate for the ministry, John Innocent, was sent to supply his place for three months. He does not appear, however, to have been recommended to the ministry at that time, for in 1851 he was supply for some months in the Burslem Circuit. At the Conference of 1852, which was held at Huddersfield, he was accepted as a probationer, and appointed to North Shields. Newcastle District is a part of the Connexion with a distinct character of its own. There is a simplicity and a sturdiness which suits well the strong northern accents, and the churches of the district generally are distinguished by great religious fervour. The Methodist traditions are strong amongst them. The young man's first Circuit was one in which the new preacher from Yorkshire was not in the least likely to be spoiled by flattery, but we may be sure he would win his way among them by the quiet modesty of his character and the never-failing suavity of his manners. If he got a perfect certificate it would

John Innocent

be a credit to him; for they were difficult to get in those days, and his congregations were very particular on the subject of visiting. They had their own canons of criticism, unadulterated with any wisdom from Broadus, but in their own way were great sermon-tasters. They could not match Elspeth of the Bonnie Brier Bush for analytical acumen and exactness of memory over the third branch of the minister's seventeenthly, but in appraising the fire and earnestness of the preacher's peroration, without too much regard to either grammar or precision of meaning, they were the better judges. They would not spare him their opinions in the leaders' meeting. It is of a church in the North that one of our ministers tells the story that he was prayed for in the words: "God bless Thy minister, our servant," and when he tried to correct it to "Thy servant, our minister," was met by a vigorous repudiation of his amendment.

It is a pity no reminiscences are forthcoming of these early days of service, especially as it was here that the youth, no doubt very impressionable, fresh from home as he was, met with the young lady whose lifelong fate was bound up with his own, and who was destined to become as noted a Missionary as himself. Miss Tate was then a young lady of about twenty years of age, tall, dark and handsome, with a dignity of manner which would impress her lover with a due sense of awe. But young Innocent succeeded in winning her affections. An engagement ensued which was full of promise from the start, and that promise was amply fulfilled in a long life of devoted service in each other's society, throughout which she proved an ideal helpmeet. This year, full of happy love and bright ambition, may be counted as one of the best years of his life.

The next year Mr. Innocent was appointed to Stockport, a fact which sufficiently indicates that the short period spent there as supply had recommended him to the affection of the people in that Circuit. He was again fortunate, for it was at Stockport that he formed one of the strongest friendships of his life. He became acquainted with Mr. Ephraim Hallam, who was then a young man just starting in life, and who afterwards became a prominent layman in the Circuit. Mr. Hallam prospered greatly in business, became a rich man, and a most liberal supporter of our work in the town. He never wavered in the strong attachment he had formed for John Innocent, and to the day of his death remained his fast friend. Mr. Hallam's affection was of a personal character, his sympathies never ran strong for the China Mission, but his regard for John Innocent remained profound through life.

The Conference of 1854 sent Mr. Innocent to Bilston in the Dudley District. In the Bilston Circuit the year was clouded by a very serious illness, and for more than three months he was laid aside from work altogether. At the Conference of 1855 he fell into the hands of the Missionary Committee, who sent him to Jersey, where at that time we had a home mission station. Probably the appointment in that beautiful island was given him partly with a view to his complete restoration to health, and the result would seem to have fully answered expectation. If it was this connection with the Missionary Committee which led to the Committee's appeal to him four years later to volunteer for China, it was an instance of the way in which Providence, ceaselessly weaving the web of our life to a pattern we are not allowed to scan, employs the darker colours to deepen the design, makes our

John Innocent

afflictions blessings, and brings the best things out of our most trying experiences.

On the 23rd of April, 1856, John Innocent was married to Miss Jane Tate at North Shields. His uncle, William, performed the marriage ceremony. One fancies he sees the fair young bridegroom leading his beautiful young bride to the altar, the young pair full of pride and joy and happy hope. The union was one of which Heaven approved, and ratified it with blessing in their after life. After the wedding our bridegroom, with his bride, returned to Jersey to complete his year of service. The next year the young pair were sent to Truro, where uncle William had travelled in 1852 and 1853. It may be this had something to do with the appointment. It was a pleasant Circuit with beautiful natural scenery in which they commenced their married life. The charming lanes and hedgerows, rich in spring time with the celandine and the hart's-tongue fern would have special attractions for one whose life had been almost entirely spent in the North, and, save for the wild charm of the sea, they would scarcely yield to the fascination of Jersey itself. It was a place in every way fit to call out that love of nature which is a valuable part of the young preacher's equipment. Mr. Innocent is still remembered in Truro, and it is certain, on the other hand that he carried away permanent recollections of the place, for he often referred to it during the later stages of his life. Mr. Innocent's last English Circuit, before leaving for China, was an important one. Halifax North was one of our Connexional strongholds. For a young man to be invited to the Circuit was itself a compliment. The demands made upon his pulpit services would be severe, and he appears to have met them with full satisfaction.



Mrs. Innocent.

It was here that he attracted the notice of the Missionary Committee as a suitable man to send to China, and in all probability here that the first impulse to become a Missionary arose in his mind.

Slight as this sketch of Mr. Innocent's English ministry has been, it sufficiently indicates the chief features in his apprenticeship. General acceptability, steady progress, widely varied experience are its main characteristics. Shields was nearly as far north as he could go, Jersey quite as far south. The neighbourhood of the "Black Country" was still another variation of service. He had tried ministerial life in country and town. He had made fast friends. He had become acquainted with the Connexion and its usages in different districts. It was a worthy apprenticeship, extending over a period of seven years. He had been tried, approved, and in some degree equipped for his life's work. That work was to be done in quite another sphere, under quite other conditions, in a far-off and (at that time how much more so than now) in a very strange land. "So you are going to China, to be a Missionary *amongst those blacks!* Aren't you afraid?" That was the startling question put to the writer just twenty years later in the town of Hull. How much more wild and daring and unaccountably foolish it must have appeared in those earlier days!

In prospect the new life appeared very strange, romantic and hazardous, but a Voice that might not be gainsaid was sounding steady and insistent: "Whom shall we send, and who will go for us?" Misgivings, questionings, self-distrust there were sure to be; stilled only by the message: "Certainly I will be with thee"; but the call had come, and with quiet, unassuming courage he rose to meet and to answer it.

CHAPTER III.

THE CALL.

THE Manchester Conference of 1859 was one of the most important that have been held in the history of the Methodist New Connexion. William Cooke was President. It was his second presidency, he having held the chair at Hull sixteen years before in 1843. James Stacey was Mission Secretary, succeeding Samuel Hulme, at that Conference. Mark Firth was Mission Treasurer. These are still among the names that come to our lips when the call is sounded "Let us now praise famous men." The Church was in a vigorous and hopeful condition. Ambition for enlargement rang out as the prevailing note during its sessions. The year showed an increase of very nearly 3,000 members, a very substantial increase if we remember that the total membership of the year before was only about 25,000. Finances were in a flourishing condition. The Mission in Canada was our pride, and was rising like a strong young giant into life. There was a magnificent enthusiasm for home extension. There were many subjects to stir the interest of the delegates, among which was the war in Italy, then rising in response to Garibaldi's martial fire, and Mazzini's patriot spell. The Conference took itself seriously, and passed a resolution urging the Government to observe strict neutrality in the struggle.

But the most exciting theme at that Conference by far was the new Mission to China. Everything con-

spired to lend it exceptional interest. Our expedition to Peking had taken the Pei-ho forts, and the Treaty of Peace had been signed by Lord Elgin the year before at Tientsin. The news had got home but a few months before the Conference. A vast accession of interest in the uniquely-curious Empire, so far away, so strange, so densely populous, so ancient, so weirdly learned, had taken hold of the public mind. Farther off than India, more populous, its language immeasurably more strange than Sanskrit, almost neglected by the evangelistic zeal of Protestant Christendom, no wonder its fascination as a mission field was extreme. The voice of John Angell James was calling from Birmingham for men of daring to carry the standard into the heart of that vast, dark Empire, the eastern half of Asia. The Missionary Societies were awaking to the need for the undertaking. It was rife with interest, with romance, abundant in peril and hardship. Terror rendered it trebly tempting to the heart of the bold. And it was already a foregone conclusion that the Connexion was going to be wild and mad enough to venture in. It was as good as a *fait accompli* that the Mission would be started.

As the delegates, clerical and lay, came up from the Circuits we can imagine the excitement which prevailed. For the Connexion had already passed the preliminary stages, was throbbing and heaving with the passion of the new cause, and it was clearly foreseen that at length it was bound to come to the birth. One likes to picture the eager, earnest look on the faces of many worthy fathers in Israel, who are now at rest, holy enthusiasm crystallizing into solemn fixity of purpose, as they were summoned to Committee rooms, or watched eagerly for the discussion in Con-

John Innocent

ference. Thomas Allin, P. J. Wright, Charles Donald, Dr. Crofts, William Cooke, James Stacey, Law Stoney, William Baggaly, Samuel Hulme, and lay brethren ready to try a fall with the best of them in debate, John Ridgway, Joseph Love, Mark Firth, G. L. Robinson, John Whitworth, Joshua Heaps, Charles Thorpe—what eloquence they would expend on the subject, both in and out of Conference, formal and stately from the pews, racier and keener by the fire-side. Tradition says that not by any means were all in favour of it. Some of our best men were years before they could be brought to look with favour on the China Mission. There was enough of opposition to kindle the fire of zeal in the advocates of the movement to consuming fervour. Yet there was probably no difficulty in passing the following resolution, which appears in the "Minutes" for 1859:—

"That considering the extent of China, the condition of its numerous inhabitants, the facilities secured by recent treaties for the dissemination of Christianity amongst them, and the small number of Missionaries labouring there, this Conference regards China as the most eligible field for the institution of our Foreign Missionary operations; and resolves that two Missionaries, both married men, be sent to that country as soon as the necessary arrangements can be completed."

Whatever differences of opinion might exist amongst our members generally, the Missionary Committee was evidently enthusiastically in favour of the step thus taken. At the previous Conference (1858) a mission to the heathen world had been decided upon, though the field had not been chosen, but during the year the desire for such a mission had developed rapidly, and had taken tangible shape. The determination of the

Committee is seen in the fact that at the same Conference which decided to send two men to China, a mission to India was contemplated, and within two years the mission to Australia was commenced. The Committee was alive and aggressive, and its fire of purpose, as is usual at such times, carried the Conference, and carried the Connexion. Words used by Mr. Innocent himself, in writing of these events, may be quoted as they serve to bring the whole situation clearly before us:—

“‘Can we not do something in the way of a mission to the heathen?’ was a question frequently discussed in official meetings and in family circles of the Methodist New Connexion long before any decisive step was taken. It was recognized as a duty which we as a Church of Christ should undertake, and the subject became a soul burden to some of our more ardent members. By prayer, conversation and pen, they kept it before the Lord and His people, until the conscience of the Connexion became fully aroused, and the Conference of 1858 voiced that conscience by its decision to engage in the enterprise of a FOREIGN MISSION.

“Then, ‘To what part of the heathen world shall we go?’ was the next question to be decided. The Conference entrusted this matter to a carefully-appointed Committee, who were to be prepared with definite recommendations for the following Conference. Divine direction was sought, other Missionary Boards were consulted as to the most needy and eligible fields, and information as to methods of working. Suitable men to engage in the work had also to be sought, and estimates of cost, and many details connected with the scheme, all engaged the attention of the Committee during the year.

John Innocent

“The whole Christian Church in England and America was throbbing with holy enthusiasm under the powerful appeals of John Angell James in his pamphlet entitled ‘GOD’S VOICE FROM CHINA.’ In this pamphlet the urgent need for the evangelization of that great country was strongly set forth. At the same time war between Great Britain and China had just been concluded and treaties had been made which opened up fresh ports to trade and to Christian missions. Special efforts were being made by all the Missionary Societies to increase their agents in that land, and to occupy the areas which were newly opened to the Gospel. Thus China was chosen by our Committee, and so confident were they of the Conference adopting their recommendation that they had made application to certain ministers in full standing as to their willingness to go—not to *some* part of the heathen world as Missionaries—but definitely *to go to China*. From one of these, who was then stationed in Halifax, an affirmative reply had been sent in the month of March, 1859. For the first time in the published ‘Minutes’ of Conference CHINA appears in the list of stations of ministers in the year 1859.”

The entry is at the end of the list of appointments which corresponds to the Conference Readings: “FOREIGN MISSIONS. CHINA.—John Innocent and another.”

The other one was not far to seek, nor yet long in seeking. Mr. Innocent has also transcribed for us a resolution of the Committee, held in Manchester, July 15th, about a month after the Conference:—

“That this meeting finding that Brother W. N. Hall, of Sheffield, is impressed with the conviction that he ought to consecrate himself to the work of missions in

China, that he has an ardent desire to do this, that very satisfactory testimonials have been given by competent medical authorities as to his fitness on the score of health for the trials and labours which such a work will involve, and having the most entire confidence in his personal suitability in other respects, resolves that his offer of himself to the Committee be accepted, and that as soon as the necessary preparations can be made he may accompany Mr. Innocent to China. In the meantime the Committee avail themselves of the offer of Dr. H. Jackson to furnish such additional particulars respecting Mr. Hall's health as he may be able to give."

"Thereby hangs a tale." Formerly a most acceptable minister among us, of about the same standing as Mr. Innocent, of nearly the same age, coming from the same town, an old companion and friend, of a peculiarly fine, generous and enthusiastic spirit, W. N. Hall was indicated by every "note" imaginable, save one, to be the travelling companion and work-fellow of John Innocent. But the last sentence in the above resolution indicates what at the time was felt by Mr. Hall's many friends to be a ground for very grave misgiving. His health was insecure, and, in fact, he had been out of the ministry for two or three years on that account. The subject is dealt with in "Consecrated Enthusiasm." There is a tradition, strictly oral, which we give with some considerable reserve. Perhaps, like many stories of the kind, it is not a little exaggerated, but it is told to illustrate Mr. Hall's determination to stick at nothing in his passion for the China Mission field. If true at all it evinces not only consecrated enthusiasm, but also a certain endowment of serpent-dove craft. It is said that the Committee, dubious, or even adverse, on the

John Innocent

score of health, demanded a medical certificate, and that with but little expectation of getting one. The first medical man applied to refused him, the second refused, and the third. We dare not go on to say how many doctors he applied to (there is more than one version of the legend), but he was a firm believer in the admonition, "If at first you don't succeed," and he tried, tried, and tried again, until he got one sufficiently sanguine to lay before the Committee. By this simple method, we are assured, he got round a very difficult corner.

These plans and negotiations, however, involved much work of a different character. The question of ways and means was an anxious question, and to the financial part of their scheme the Committee had to give earnest study. At the Conference itself about £1,000 was promised. District Missionary meetings were arranged for in each District. The Connexion rose nobly to the occasion, and ample funds were forthcoming for the operations of the Society.

In all these doings John Innocent was deeply concerned, and we must turn now to consider them as they presented themselves to him personally. If to others it was a stirring and momentous Conference, how much more so to him as it decided some of the most important issues of his life! When the idea of becoming a Missionary first entered his mind we have now no means of determining. Certainly it was at a period considerably earlier. But the following passage from his private diary indicates the time when he was called to face the subject in a very practical way:—

"March 28th, 1859.

"Mr. Gilton called upon me this morning and informed me of the decision of the Missionary Sub-

Committee to invite me to become a Missionary to China."

"April 1st, Friday.

"A letter on the above subject came from the Acting Mission Secretary, Rev. S. Hulme, urging my consideration and acceptance of the position."

The proposal coming to him in this way made a profound impression on him, and he weighed it over, as was his nature, in a very calm, deliberate spirit. He seems to have been but little excited by it. There is no indication that he was unduly carried away by romantic or quixotic feelings. Yet it was one of the great choices of his lifetime, in many respects altogether his greatest choice. In our judgment nothing could be more admirable than the following grave, subdued, altogether practical and modest language in which he sets down the particulars of the process by which he made up his mind. It is luminous throughout with deep, spiritual, religious character. There is nothing very uncommon in the words, but no common mind could have penned them, yet be content to add no more. They have been transcribed from the Diary for us by Mrs. Innocent's hand. Mr. Hulme's letter probably asked him to give the proposal his "favourable consideration." Accordingly she entitles the following "The favourable consideration."

"Going as a Missionary to China will be carrying out the Saviour's commission, under whose authority and for whose glory I now minister the Gospel. God does not limit me to a locality, but the world is the field, and in any part of it I may fulfil that commission which I feel is given to me.

"I have a desire to go abroad to preach the Gospel

to the heathen, and have had for some time, which desire I believe is sanctioned, if not induced, by the Holy Ghost. I think I could adapt myself to the people to win them to Christ. The Chinese are perishing through not having the Gospel; some one must go and take it to them, and it is as much my business to go as anyone's.

"I can be spared from the ministry in England without any perceptible diminution of ministerial agency; whereas every single addition to the agency in China will increase the probability of her evangelization.

"I have given myself to the Church, under Christ, to serve her in the ministry, and as the Church calls upon me to engage in this particular work it is right I should obey.

"The climate and voyage may be favourable to the health of myself and family, and I shall be under the protection of my Heavenly Father there just as much as here. The object of my life is to save souls, and glorify God. This is, I hope, my motive in regard to China. I feel the work is great, solemn, sublime and responsible. Yet if the Church calls, and the way opens, I must engage in dependence upon Divine aid. I will, therefore, hold myself in readiness to go.

"My wife feels the deep importance of the project, pain at the idea of leaving home, but a willingness to go with me, and do her best for the salvation of the heathen.

"Oh! Thou God of wisdom, mercy and truth, guide Thy servant and handmaid, I beseech Thee, in this important affair. Amen."

The die was cast. The Committee could not fail to be satisfied with the decision come to in such a spirit,

for though John Innocent is here speaking in the privacy of his diary, his letter to them would be couched in language breathing the same spirit. Their reply was not long delayed, for we find a resolution of their meeting held in Manchester, May 12th, 1859, as follows:—

“That Mr. John Innocent be nominated for the China Mission, and the Committee is grateful to find that he has expressed his willingness to undertake this important work should the Conference appoint him to it.”

Such, then, was the call which came to John Innocent, and came to the Church of which he was a member and a servant. Honoured brethren who work at home with equal zeal, equal loyalty, and will have, doubtless, equal reward, will not begrudge the remark that he was called to higher service. The front, if only because it is the post of danger, is, therefore, the post of honour. We have purposely delineated the call under this double aspect. It was a clear, loud, emphatic call to us as a Church, to him and his comrade as individuals, which, because it appealed to all that was noblest, and made demand for the utmost consecration and sacrifice, carried with it the inward certainty of its Divine origin. It was the most unselfish call which, as a Church, we ever received, which he as an individual ever responded to. The pious soul will always see in such uplifting of the spirit of man, something which, if not inspiration itself, is closely akin to it. It is not permitted to us here to dwell at any length upon this subject of Divine calling, with examples of which the pages of Holy Writ are crowded, of which every department of Christian history is, and must ever be, a continuous unfolding. But we may pause long enough to say, Blessed is the Church and blessed

is the man to whom it is given to feel this present inrush of creative force. No other credential need any Church seek ; no higher destiny or purer joy can mortal man be the subject of. Nay, in matters other than religious, what worth, or purpose, or greatness is there in life without some such fire of motive, to bring from within, from beyond, from above the material and mercenary common-place of our life, a meaning which allies it with the life Divine? It is often felt where it is least confessed. In modern days it works to potent ends under strange guises. But without it the heart has no sunshine, the wine of life is flat, and settled cold is lasting barrenness. Not to speak of prophetic vision or saintly experience or martyr-suffering, where would the poet, the artist, the teacher, the truth-seeker, the reformer, the philanthropist be without the sustaining power which the sense of his vocation gives? How must the life of a man or a nation or a Church drift until it feels its MISSION, and has some sense, however dim, of what John Wesley meant when he said: "Best of all is, God is with us"! If considerations of prudence, of self-interest, had ruled in our counsels, if we had worked for what seemed of immediate and obvious advantage, we should never have gone to China. If John Innocent had acted in the same spirit he would never have entertained for a moment the idea of becoming our *Missionary* there. What a lot of money we should have saved! How much use we could have made of it at home! Some one says: But should we? To whom should we have saved it? How should we have used it? Nothing worthy or lasting was ever accomplished under cold, calculating selfishness. Was it not in chief part the cause which called forth the gifts? Was it not the same call which inspired the

sender and the sent, and which, by its sacred impulse, compelled alike the many lesser and the one greater sacrifice? Without it they would not have been forthcoming at all or would have been spent to infinitely less benefit.

John Innocent's life was irradiated and ennobled, and the Methodist New Connexion was immeasurably enriched by that magnificent impulse which led to the founding of the Mission in China.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CHOICE OF THE FIELD.

IT has been said of the founders of Methodism that "they builded better than they knew." In some similar manner, was there a higher wisdom at work leading to the selection of China as a field for our chief foreign missionary activity. One can hardly help saying so when one reviews the many and supremely important claims which the Empire has upon the evangelistic enterprise of the Christian Church. While the choice was made intelligently, and with prayerful consideration, it does not appear, from the records of the time, that these were very distinctly apprehended by those who took the step. At any rate it may serve a useful purpose to set forth in this chapter some of the reasons for holding that it may be said without exaggeration that China is the most important mission field which the world offers to the zeal of Christ's followers.

The vastness of the Empire, in a mere geographical sense, is, perhaps, the first and most obvious consideration. Leaving out the immense stretches of Mongolia and Manchuria, which together with Tibet and Kokonor constitute "Outer China," "China Proper" is a territory which may well arrest attention. It has an area of 1,539,190 square miles. The entire Empire is considerably larger than the whole continent of Europe. Every one of its eighteen provinces, with the exception of three, which are not very much less, is larger than the whole forty counties of England.

Wide Realm of the Dragon Sceptre

Most of them are about twice as large. Ssü Ch'uan Province alone is four times as large. Yunnan is nearly three times as large. Canton about twice as large. Perhaps the best way to realize vividly China's tremendous area is to consider its territorial divisions. To *very* unthinking people the truth is, perhaps, hidden by the fact that we are accustomed to speak of the forty counties of England. Forty is a much bigger figure than eighteen. But that is a terribly blundering way of looking at it. We need to remember that each province is divided into departments, and each department into districts. *The district is the county*. Roughly speaking each province contains about ten departments, and each department about ten counties. Though this simple way of reckoning is not accurate, it approximates sufficiently near to give us a just idea of China's magnitude. One thousand eight hundred counties is a sufficiently wide realm for the Dragon sceptre to hold sway over.

Nor must we forget this great territory contains no great wastes like the steppes of Russia, the wilds of Siberia, or even the prairies of America. A very large proportion of it is cultivable and cultivated land, much of it as rich and fertile as is anywhere to be found in the world. Self-sufficient, rich, and various, with one of the finest climates known to man, keeping well astride the temperate zone, nowhere reaching to torrid heat, or frigid cold, it is capable of producing, and produces, in abundance almost every kind of agricultural wealth—cotton, silk, grain, fruit, timber, cereals of every description. Skies of matchless blue and magnificent light stretch over its fertile fields, and beneath its furrowed soil are mineral treasures of every kind in wellnigh exhaustless abundance. Tea and rice

and silk are amongst the singularly valuable products it has given to the world. But this is not the chief reason why China is so important as a mission field.

It is more pertinent to observe that it is, taken as a whole, about the most densely-populated portion of the earth's surface. This great country grows men, and by the very number of its people, compels attention. "China's Millions" has become to the world an accepted phrase. The population of China has been variously estimated by different authorities, for no census returns with any pretence to accuracy are available. But it is safe to say it is prodigious. It has been placed as high as 480,000,000, and indeed when Buddhism numbers her votaries as 800,000,000 she calmly counts among them 500,000,000 Chinamen. It has never been estimated at less than 350,000,000 which is 100,000,000 more than the population of thickly-peopled India. Thirty years of life in China leads one to the conclusion that the Western world is rather in danger of underestimating than of overestimating the teeming multitudes of her people. We think it cannot be less, and is probably more, than 400,000,000. This is something between one-third and one-fourth of the total population of the globe. You cannot, therefore, talk about the world and leave China out. That would be scarcely more than one degree less foolish than China's habit of speaking of herself as the world, and leaving the rest out. Here is no question of "a negligible quantity."

Every feature in the social and political life of this most numerous of all the peoples of the earth but heightens the interest and the significance which attaches to them as an object of evangelism. The Empire is unusually homogeneous. With the exception



Tientsin : Junk Sailing.

of aboriginal tribes, which are not very numerous, there is no question of subject races. Its unique Government is independent, having a proud line of rulers and of dynasties, stretching back to the very dawn days of history. In fourteen out of the eighteen provinces the people speak one language. Our Missionaries from Yunnan are perfectly intelligible when speaking in Yunnanese to the people of the North. Even the other dialects, which are unintelligible to the ears of Mandarin-speaking people, are closely allied to them both in words and in grammatical structure. For all literary purposes, even to the writing of an ordinary letter, the Chinese language is one and indivisible. The nation is welded together in a marvellous underlying unity, by customs, etiquette, ceremonies, traditions, ideals, and religious faith and practice which are alike common to all, and of which their magnificent literature is the unique expression. That literature, ancient as are its springs, is yet modern in its scarcely abated force. Their long lines of monarchs and heroes and sages and philosophers are held to-day in equal honour, in equal veneration and equal worshipfulness, from one end of the Empire to the other, and have profoundly influenced the civilization of Japan and of Korea. Education, though it has been hitherto restricted to the few, is universally diffused, and in spite of all that may be said, and truly said, of their superstition and of their vices, the mental and moral capacity of the whole people is of a very high order, and as persistent in vigour and in vitality as the physical qualities of the race which the Western world contemplates with positive alarm. Awakened China is as capable of understanding and of appreciating the nicest refinements of philosophy and the loftiest conceptions of religion as the most advanced

of Western races. There is a "Yellow Peril," if peril it be, not in the fields of commerce and of warfare alone, but also in those of science, of philosophy and of religion. The commercial genius of the people is unrivalled. But even these qualities and endowments do not constitute their chief claim on the attention of the Missionary.

That which does make their supreme claim on evangelistic enterprise is their unique genius for religion. It may well be that many who derive their ideas of the Chinaman and his country from newspaper and magazine literature will think this statement ludicrous. For it is the fashion to speak of the Chinese as anything but a religious people. Yet on no other hypothesis than that of an intense genius for religion can their history be explained. By religion it should be unnecessary to say that we emphatically do not mean the Christian religion. Among English people the habit is so inveterate of speaking of religion and Christianity as though they were interchangeable terms that it is advisable to safeguard this point. On the whole they have shown themselves slow to receive Christianity. It may sound paradoxical to say that this fact itself is a proof of their strong religious instincts, but that is just what experience among them disposes one to say. Their reluctance is due not to distaste for religion as such, but rather to their fidelity to their old faiths. For the most part those who have rejected Christ in the most determined manner, have done so because, as they have conceived, their acceptance of Him would be disloyalty to Confucius. In other words, however mistakenly, they have been actuated by religious motives. Even their persistent persecution of Christianity has been a proof of religious zeal. Persecution is religious

zeal wrongly directed. Saul, the Pharisee, was an extremely religious personage, and it took such a man converted to make a Paul, the apostle, whose consuming zeal carried Christianity beyond the bounds of Judaism to the wide Gentile world. It was a sound insight into character which made Griffith John see in the infamous Chou Han a man moved by intense religious zeal, in whom a new Saul of Tarsus might appear.

Whoever thinks the Chinese are not essentially a very religious-minded people, let him consider the supremely important fact that China is the greatest home of religions that the world contains to-day. The great non-Christian religions, which have lasted for centuries, and swayed millions, number but five. Of these China has been the birthplace of two, is the stronghold of three, and of a fourth she numbers no less than 30,000,000. In this paramount characteristic no other country in the world can compare with China except India. Yet compare India with China. India has given birth to two religions, but has lost one. Of Hinduism she is the stronghold. She has about 50,000,000 Mohammedans. China has produced Confucianism and Taoism, both of which still flourish vigorously, and of these together with Buddhism she is the stronghold. She numbers 30,000,000 Mohammedans. To keep close to military language, the mission of Christianity is to conquer the world. The giant rivals she must fight are these five—Hinduism, Mohammedanism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism. Hinduism must be conquered in India, Mohammedanism must be fought on three continents, China being a part of this battlefield also. But the other three out of five must be met and vanquished on Chinese soil, for that is where their strength lies. Is it not, then, true that,

religiously considered, China is the most important mission field of the world? To conquer China is to conquer the better half of intellectual heathendom. The intellect of heathendom being won the crisis of this great warfare is past.

For convenience in stating the problem we have spoken in military language, we have set forth the meeting of these great world-forces working on the hearts of men, under symbols of battle. Yet we will not disguise our conviction that to the true Missionary the spirit of mere antagonism is not the right spirit in which to do his work. Toward all that is good and noble in these great rival systems, and there is much, his true message is one of reconciliation. We do not envy the man who sees in these great systems, which on the lowest estimate are the aching search-pains of the human heart seeking for God, nothing but delusions of the devil contrived with diabolical skill to keep Christ from His rightful throne. Surely it is time that such medieval crudities should be dropped. We prefer to see in the non-Christian faiths God's preparation for Christ without the ranks of the chosen people, as Judaism was His preparation within, and in large measure Christ's words apply to them as to it: "I came not to destroy, but to fulfil."

"Peace hath her victories,
No less renowned than war."

In this warfare it is the "Prince of Peace," who leads the host, the struggle is one of love, the conquest a conquest of peace; and all the battles ever waged in rage and blood were but lustful strife, greedy for ignoble plunder, compared with the holy crusade which rightly fought will usher in the victory of the Lamb.

China is the destined field where much of this "Holy

Followers of Xavier and Morrison

War" must be waged, where we will venture to say its chiefest trophies must be won. Shall we not gratefully recognize that in the choice of this field we were indeed divinely guided, and that when John Innocent, with his noble comrade, Hall, following in the wake of Xavier and Morrison, came to these shores they came to the rightest of right places, where to live and to die in the great Captain's service were alike honourable and glorious?

CHAPTER V.

THE PASSAGE OUT.

IN our third chapter we have described the circumstances under which John Innocent and his companion received and accepted the call to go forth to far distant China. There was much bustle and stir of preparation we may be sure, much on their part, more doubtless on the part of their friends and families, more still, it is likely, on the part of Connexional authorities who were responsible for the venture, and to whom it meant grave financial accountability. For the chief actors it must have been a time of anxious waiting, and of harrowing leave-taking. These circumstances are somewhat graphically described by Mr. Innocent in language we cannot do better than quote:—

“The preparations for departure were rather more tedious than in the present day, but everything was in readiness by the time appointed. The thrill of excitement throughout the Connexion was exceedingly strong. Large and enthusiastic meetings were held in Manchester, Sheffield and Leeds to take farewell of the Missionaries. Such excitement and enthusiasm were only natural on such an occasion. It was a new enterprise for the Connexion, her maiden effort to take her place by the side of sister Churches in preaching the Gospel to the heathen. It was the realization of a long-cherished project, and the object of the prayers of the most earnest members of the Church. It was an active pledge of love to the Redeemer, and a re-

sponse to His command: 'Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel.' It was a projection of Connexional faith on the Divine promise, 'Lo! I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.' The decisive venture was made, and God honoured the faith thus shown by a spiritual benediction of sanctified joy which spread like a holy fire among the Churches in flames of sympathy, zeal and liberality. It was called 'a new era,' and certainly, at the time, our Churches experienced an enlargement of spiritual life which inaugurated a brighter and better day for the Connexion.

"On Tuesday evening, October 18th, 1859, the two brethren were formally designated to their work in China in Woodhouse Lane Chapel, Leeds. There was a large gathering of ministers on the platform, while the chapel was crowded with people from the adjacent Circuits. The Charge, of wonderful compass and power was delivered by Rev. S. Hulme. It was a service most impressive in its character, and stimulating in its influence. The Missionaries were then escorted to the railway station by large numbers of Christian friends, and were accompanied to London by the President and by the Secretary of the Mission."

Such was their valediction. The momentous day had at length arrived. That 21st of October should be memorable to all of us. Of all days in the week it was a *Friday*, a fact which, perhaps, in part accounts for what followed, and it was afternoon when they went aboard. The ship was "The Heroes of Alma," and soon our heroes found themselves aboard. They evidently considered her a gallant bark, and Mr. Innocent tells us in his journal, with no little pride, that she was of 650 tons burden. She was lying in the Thames at Gravesend; weeping friends must say good-

bye in haste for the boat was waiting at the port gangway to put them ashore, and she weighed anchor that evening for Portsmouth; not, however, before the occasion had been duly improved. With the consent of the captain, the little group of passengers and their friends were mustered in the saloon for a prayer-meeting. The Revs. W. Cooke and J. C. Watts offered prayer, then leave-taking must be done in earnest.

It was something to go to China in those days. The dangers and discomforts of life at sea were then a reality, now they are barely sufficient to give zest to the journey which is taken rather as a holiday sport. Prayers for journeying mercies were earnest then, the perils of the deep no mere conventional phrase. Parting then seemed so nearly like parting for ever that to undergo it became a grim and appalling experience. Then the passage took nearly half a year; now, by sea, it is little more than a month. Talk about "shrinkage of the planet"! The Siberian Railway has robbed the journey alike of its terror and its romance, and reduced it to little more than a fortnight. What a contrast with the days of sailing ships and of the Cape passage! Nowadays a Missionary does not think much of being sent to China several times in a lifetime.

Mr. Innocent has left us a diary written on the way, and at its commencement he tells us how the travellers felt at parting:—

"I had often felt the pain of bidding farewell to loved ones, but the sorrow was always somewhat lessened by the consideration of the limited distance and the facilities for rapid travelling in my own country. But now there was no such relief. For years, if not for ever in this world, I must bid adieu to my friends. Of many in the country this farewell had been

taken during the past few months, especially had the few days preceding my departure been full of exciting events and scenes. The large and exciting farewell meetings in my own native town, at which a thousand people were present, the designation service at Leeds, with its solemn interest and crowded aspect, and soul-stirring Charge, then the hurrying away from the chapel to the train through the streets lined with people eager to look at and bid farewell to us, so thickly, indeed, that the cab could scarcely move along. The railway station, again, was alive with many who came to take a last look and have a last hand-shake. The hand-shaking has been a most formidable business. In spite of the strong efforts which I made to control myself and smother my feelings, I found myself mastered once or twice."

"What sobs mingled with those words of praise and prayer! All hearts were moved, and no wonder! Then the boats took away the few dear and beloved ones who were with us to the last. We looked after them as long as we had any sight of them, but they faded from our view, and we were left to the bitter pangs of conscious separation, perhaps for ever, from all the dear associations of home, friends and country."

The little world on the waters to which the voyagers were confined was a very contracted one compared with the gaieties of a passage on a modern mail. The vessel is described as "a fine, strong, clipper-built vessel, with good accommodation for passengers." Captain, Thomas Silk. The good accommodation appears to refer to the unfurnished cabins, and must be understood with strict reservation, for they had to furnish their own cabins even to chairs and mattresses. They

appear to have lived on spartan fare served with hard ship's biscuit, and the mode of taking a bath was to sit on the deck in the early morning and have the ship's hose turned on you. Mr. Innocent speaks of these conditions as "healthy if not comfortable." The journey began adversely. No sooner had they been towed down the river than contrary winds began to blow which lasted for days, during which they were helplessly driven about; one night they passed through a fearful storm, and next morning learnt that two vessels quite near them had sunk, and all hands had been lost. This storm gave Mr. Innocent the opportunity to cultivate nautical language, for he tells us that "her jib, top-gallant, and top-sails were torn to shreds." Then eight of the sailors mutinied. There were eight adult male passengers, and *seven of them were* Missionaries. The sailors said *there were too many Jonahs aboard*. And they had started on a Friday. The captain had to put his refractory sailors in irons. When they at last got to Deal, he went ashore and exchanged them for eight others, "good-looking fellows." After thus going through a mutiny, and nearly a shipwreck, at the end of a fortnight (we shall soon be able to reach *Tientsin* in less time) they *landed at Portsmouth*.

At Portsmouth they got a good rest. The ship stayed there a few days and reprovisioned. The passengers all went ashore, and met with warm friends in the Baptist and Congregational ministers. They were entertained. Something like a new valedictory service was held in "a large square church," and on their departure they carried with them many good wishes and promises of prayer for their welfare. From Portsmouth, Mrs. Hall and her child, together with Mr. Innocent's little boy of two years old, returned home.

Mrs. Hall had been very ill all the way with a severe attack of erysipelas; the Innocents by this time had judged that it would be best for their boy to remain in England, and though these separations were most painful they were bravely borne.

"The Heroes of Alma" recommenced her voyage on the 9th of November. This time they had better fortune, and made such good progress that they might reach the Celestial Empire in the course of time. The company aboard was a well-assorted one. It consisted of the captain, his mate and crew, and the following families:—

Rev. Z. Klockers and wife, of the Baptist Missionary Society; the Rev. Mr. Dawson, B.A., and wife, the Rev. J. Wilson, B.A., and wife, the Rev. J. MacGowan, B.A., and wife, and James Henderson, M.D., all of the London Missionary Society; the Rev. W. N. Hall; the Rev. J. Innocent, wife and child.

Besides these there was a young man whose name is not given, and who was going out as a merchant.

The Missionaries commenced their Missionary work immediately the vessel started. An arrangement was made for a sort of "family prayer" in the saloon every evening, and quite an ambitious programme was drawn up for the Sunday services. Such was their state of general prostration, however, by the first Sunday, October 23rd, that the utmost they were capable of was a prayer-meeting. We learn from the Journal that these Sunday services were well sustained through the rest of the passage. Laudable efforts were also made to hold services among the crew, which were not without result. In good Methodist style they "had conversions," amongst their converts being the ship's carpenter, and the black cook.

They were not without adventures. "Fiddles" were on the table a good deal of the time, the dancing being kept up merrily by the plates and dishes, and they had their full benefit of *mal de mer*. Though an "Innocent abroad," our journalist seems quite unconscious of any plagiarism of Mark Twain's style when he writes:—

"I soon began to feel also the new mode of life on which I had entered. Maybe most persons of an imaginative turn and who have read or thought of the dangers of the sea experience when commencing their first voyage a vivid sense of insecurity as well as isolation from the world. The cabin, crew, noises of the ship, and outward scenes are all strange and foster timidity. Any slight pitching or tossing of the vessel produces sensations connected with the idea of sinking to the bottom, or rolling quite over. These feelings precede the unpleasant attack of sea-sickness. When this takes fully hold of a person it makes him wonderfully indifferent as to whether he sinks or swims."

In the Downs they saw the "Great Eastern." At Portsmouth they learnt of the loss of the "Royal Charter." Later on they saw a large whale, still later the sailors caught a shark four feet long; they spent Christmas in the tropics, and on the day when they sailed their greatest distance, 280 miles, Mr. Innocent's straw hat flew overboard amongst a number of albatrosses, and the captain, after the manner of old salts, declared that "one of them tried it on, but it would not fit." At the Pelew Islands some natives came on board naked and bartered two goats for some old clothes. They also offered a Prayer Book given to John Bell by his sister Isabella, for sale. Their principal stock-in-trade was tortoise shells, and, having taken a fancy to Mrs. Innocent's baby (George), they



Tientsin : Palace North Street.

Near site of the old Kung Pei Chapel.

offered the whole boat-load in exchange for him. The baby's mother, however, did not wish to trade on such a speculative basis. Off the Loo Choo Islands they passed the "Lady Elizabeth," which had left London ten days before them. They felt proud to be on a vessel that could make such rapid time.

This was on the 15th of March. On the 18th they encountered a number of fishing smacks, and soon they passed close to a number of small islands of the Chusan Archipelago, sighted the Saddle Islands, and soon were in the Yangtze Kiang. The water is described as being of a dirty yellow. The captain, evidently a lover of "poetry in words," called it "pea soup." Sea captains always call it pea soup. On the 19th the Chinese pilot came on board, and although after his arrival they had a very narrow escape from running on a rock, his presence inspired them with confidence that they would reach their destination. By the 22nd they were "far up the Yang Tzü." and at four o'clock, a.m., they first saw the coast of the mainland of China. "It looked like a low line on the water fringed with trees."

On the morning of the 23rd of March, 1860, they cast anchor at Wusung, and this long and trying sea-passage of fully five months was over at last. "A ship," said Dr. Johnson, "is a prison with a chance of being drowned," and the prisoners, doubtless overjoyed at the prospect of *terra firma*, donned their best duds and

"Eager longed for their release."

We cannot do better than conclude this chapter in the affecting words which form a fitting conclusion of the Journal:—

"In the afternoon we received kind notes from Mrs. Muirhead, of the L.M.S., welcoming us all to Shanghai,

and inviting us to their homes on the Mission premises, assuring us that all arrangements had been made for our comfort. A nice comfortable yacht, belonging to Lindsay and Co., was sent to take us up to Shanghai. We were *delighted to go*, and *at once* went aboard the yacht. We were three and a half hours in going up the river (the Huang Po). Being very late when we arrived, we found none of our friends waiting for us on the quay, and it was one and a half hours before we could land. Then Messrs. Muirhead, Wylie, Edkins, John L. Cowie, also Mr. Soul, of Lindsay's, came to fetch us, and greeted us most kindly. Brother Hall, myself and wife were taken to the hospitable home of the Rev. J. Edkins and his excellent lady, who treated us in the most kind and considerate manner. The following day several Missionaries, and their wives, came to see us, and kindly wished to have some of us to entertain. These visits impressed me with the advantage of freedom from sectarian prejudice, as all Denominations greeted us with warm-hearted kindness. May bigotry never influence my mind nor interfere with unity!" (Through John Innocent's long life this prayer was abundantly answered.)

The trials of the way, the length and weariness of the voyage seem all forgotten in the pleasure of the pious and intelligent society we have here. "The voyage seems like a dream, though *it was anything but that.*"

CHAPTER VI.

THE YEAR AT SHANGHAI.

A SERIOUS CHANGE OF PURPOSE.

ON their arrival in Shanghai our two devoted Missionaries found a totally different state of things from what they had expected to find. At the time they left England the prospect of mission work in China seemed full of smiling promise. No doubt the political situation did much to encourage the sending of them forth. On the 5th of January, 1858, the English and French entered Canton, where they captured Commissioner Yeh who had given them much trouble. He was sent as a prisoner to Calcutta, where he died the next year. The allies proceeded to Peking, and took the Pei-ho forts (near Taku) May 20th, arriving in Tientsin the same day. There negotiations commenced on the 5th of June. China seemed amenable to reason. A new Treaty was made during the three days, June 26th, 28th and 29th. It was signed by Lord Elgin on the part of England, by Baron Gros on the part of France, and by the newly-appointed Commissioner Chi Ying on the part of China. This Treaty was full of promise to the cause alike of the missionary and of the trader. Ambassadors were to represent the Dragon Emperor at both Courts. There was to be freedom of trade. Christianity was to be tolerated. China was to pay the expenses of the war. There was to be a revised tariff. The Government was to learn civility, for the term "I," pronounced "ye," not "I," which means "bar-

barian," was prohibited by the Treaty. It is a question whether the famous "toleration clauses" have not done missions much more harm than good. Now all this good news would arrive in England some time between the Conference which appointed them, and the time when our friends left for China. But during the five months that they were at sea a storm had burst over the international horizon as rude as that which had buffeted them about in the English Channel. In accordance with the terms of the Treaty the British Envoy, Mr. Bruce, proceeded to the capital, but was stopped in the Pei-ho river on his way to Peking. Admiral Hope attempted to force a passage, but was repulsed with a loss of eighty-one killed and 390 wounded. This was on the 25th of June, 1859. An American Envoy, Mr. Ward, was refused an audience with the Emperor because he would not "kotos," on the 29th of July. England and France were preparing a new expedition just as our friends were leaving England, and Lord Elgin and Baron Gros were back at Shanghai in June, just when our friends had barely settled down in Shanghai. Beside all this the marvellous rebels, the "Tai-pings," were astir. They had held a large tract in the south for years with Nanking, the ancient capital of the Ming dynasty, in their hands, and had now broken out, and were threatening Suchow and Shanghai. It was into the midst of these turbulent events that Innocent and Hall were precipitated. The Settlement of Shanghai was flooded with missionaries, many of whom, like our friends had come to possess the "goodly land," while others had been driven in by the disturbed condition of the country.

One of the first tasks our friends had before them was to secure a house to live in, which they did with

some difficulty. It was a poor house at a high rent, and rather far removed from the Settlement. Mr. Innocent, who was always a careful economist, was shocked at having to pay £75 per annum for four rooms and servants' quarters. Immediately on getting into the house, he tells us he began the study of the local dialect. Shanghai dialect does not extend far beyond Shanghai. Referring to the events just narrated Mr. Innocent writes:—

“The offensive repudiation of the Treaty and gross insult to the Governments of France and England, not only destroyed all the golden hopes which had prevailed about an open country for commerce and Christianity, but had caused another serious rupture between China and the West. Great Britain and France had determined to resent the insult, and send a combined force to Peking to insist upon the Treaties being ratified, which had been made in 1858. Thus war had been declared, and the allied forces were all ready to gather in the north. Shanghai was under martial law, and held by the British and French, and was so held until the declaration of peace in November, 1860.”

The situation in Shanghai had one advantage. It gave the new-comers unrivalled opportunities for forming friendships which were valuable to them in after years. Hence we read:—

“It was no small advantage to meet with such distinguished and veteran Missionaries as Bishop Boone, A.E.M.; Dr. Culbertson, A.P.M.; Dr. Bridgman, A.B.C.F.M.; A. Wylie, W. Muirhead, J. Edkins, Griffith John, L.M.S.; C. J. Burdon, W. Collins, C.M.S., and others; with many of whom we had intimate association and formed life-long friendships.”

In the work of one of these excellent men Mr. Inno-

cent evidently took a peculiar interest for we find the following special note in his Journal:—

“One most interesting department of Christian work we saw in operation in Shanghai, viz., the printing for the B. and F. Bible Society of the Holy Scriptures in Chinese. This work was under the superintendence of that remarkable scholar and devoted Christian, Alexander Wylie. It was most fascinating to see the large cylindrical printing press, turned by a buffalo, rolling off its sheets of Chinese characters, which sheets were then folded and arranged and stitched into paper-covered books for circulation over China. The workmen employed were all Chinese. The Bible Society Jubilee, concurring with the rise of the Tai-ping rebels, who were favourable to the spread of the Scriptures, was made the occasion for creating a fund for providing a million Testaments for China. Mr. Wylie was engaged in executing this large order at the time, but owing to the disturbed state of the country, the stock began to accumulate. The Shanghai Committee urged the suspension of printing operations for a year, and that Mr. Wylie should be employed as an agent of the Bible Society. Before he retired from active labours (1877), owing to the loss of eyesight, he had the pleasure of getting over a million New Testaments into circulation, besides a great many portions.”

Two objects of supreme importance lay before Mr. Innocent and Mr. Hall at this time, and it says much for the stuff of which the men were made that they turned their attention toward them in the most whole-hearted manner. These two objects were intimately related; for their decision as to either one must affect the other. They had to decide what dialect among the several dialects spoken in the country they should

study. They had also to determine in what part of all vast China they should choose the field of their life-work, and with it that of others coming after them. The latter decision had been partly prejudged. Before they left England there was a sort of general understanding, though no doubt much was left to their own discretion, that if circumstances, and observation on the spot favoured, they should establish themselves at Suchow. Loyal to this purpose they took the earliest opportunity of going to see, with their own eyes, this great and far-famed city. An opportunity offered itself in the projected visit of the Rev. J. W. Lambuth, of the American Methodist Episcopal Church, South, who was going out on a ten days' preaching tour, and would take the city on his round. Both Innocent and Hall were eager to accompany him, and early on the morning of the 17th of May, 1860, after breakfasting with a friend, the start was made. It was an eventful journey, as they found the whole region greatly disturbed, and on arriving at Suchow they were not allowed to enter.

Some account is given of this their first missionary journey in "Consecrated Enthusiasm," but a portion of Mr. Innocent's own sketch will be interesting to our readers:—

"After calling at several cities and towns en route, where our esteemed friend preached the Gospel, and we assisted him in distributing Christian books, we reached the famous city on May 23rd, but were hardly permitted to enter. The people were in a state of panic owing to the reports which had reached them that the Tai-ping rebels were on their way from Nanking to take the city. By some adroit manœuvre they had broken through and scattered the besieging army

of imperial troops at Nanking. On the road we had met many of these soldiers in flight who confirmed the reports that the insurgents had taken other cities *en route* to Suchow. As we approached the city we were astonished at its marvellous amplitude. Its noble walls were seen stretching away for miles both westward and southward. After sailing alongside the city walls for two hours without compassing more than two-thirds of its circumference, we drew up to shore and prepared, with some anxiety, to attempt an entrance into the city. We passed through the east gate without difficulty, the crowds appearing too much cast down in spirit to think of molestation. We delivered many tracts. Our expectations were raised, and we took courage. But the end was at hand. A short walk of less than a quarter of a mile finished our labours. We were stopped by a group of soldiers, and ordered into an office occupied by an important Mandarin. Two officials were just then retiring from the place, and as they passed us on the way to their sedans, they turned upon us a haughty glance, which gave us the opportunity of marking their anxious and care-worn features. Everything in the looks of all classes proclaimed a fearful crisis. The Mandarins having departed we were interrogated as to our designs. With excessive politeness the superior officer informed us that we must not persist in our intentions, as he could not guarantee our safety for one hour. He said the city was filled with soldiers, our motives might be misunderstood, and we might be torn to pieces. The people were fleeing in every direction, and they expected to have to close the gate during the day. We then begged his acceptance of a copy of the Scriptures, gave books to each of his attendants, and took our departure. That day the city gates were closed

and all business suspended. The canal and roads were crowded with fugitives escaping for their lives from the doomed city. Next day we returned to Shanghai. Rain was falling in torrents adding to the wretchedness of the flying populace. The miserable scenes of that exodus will never be erased from our minds. Nine days later, on the 2nd of June, the rebels took the city without assault. The ruin and carnage were fearful."

Two subsequent visits were made to Suchow, one on the 30th of June, 1860, when Mr. Hall accompanied Messrs. Edkins and Griffith John on a visit, and another, on the 30th of July, when Mr. Innocent accompanied the same gentleman with one or two others. Mr. Innocent's language on the occasion of his first visit, as we have seen, was sufficiently enthusiastic, but his language is far surpassed by that of Mr. Hall, who was carried away by its splendour, its luxuriance, and its licentiousness. But on the second visit there was an awful change. "A mass of charred and desolate heaps." "The canal for miles so thickly covered with the noisome floating carcasses of the dead that in many places it was with difficulty that our boat could be pushed through." Such havoc had been wrought in two short months.

Both the visits just referred to were made at the instance of the rebel chiefs themselves, the latter one by express invitation of the "Kun Wang," who was Prime Minister, and the leading strategist of the movement. His name was Hung Jen, and he was cousin to the rebel Emperor Hung Hsiu Ch'üan. Both these men were earnest Christians. Their army was a Christian army, and knelt for prayers morning and evening. They were anxious to have Christian teaching in their

camps. History has ranked the unsuccessful Hung Hsiu Ch'üan as an infamous rebel, the author of unspeakable bloodshed and misery. Had he been successful he would have been glorified as the Mohammed of China. Mr. Innocent saw clearly enough, as many saw at the time, that their great movement, in its first beginnings, was a struggle against corrupt, evil, and reckless administrators for freedom to worship God. This is no time for digression, else one would be tempted to speculate on what is indeed but a vain topic, the "might have been." Had the Powers but remained aloof from this great strife—a civil war in which the Imperialists were more ruthless than the Revolutionaries? Had England especially not been so anxious, as she again was in Boxer days, to uphold the power of the Manchus? Had Gordon, the "Christian Soldier," but have chosen the Christian side? But the political situation was full of perplexity, anomaly and distraction. While Lord Elgin was marching on Peking and burning the Summer Palace, the foreign troops, though at war with the Government, were holding Shanghai against the rebels, and Gordon, with his "ever-victorious" force, was breaking their military strength.

After his return from this saddening visit, Mr. Innocent was taken dangerously ill. This was in the beginning of August, the hottest and most trying time of the year. The doctor pronounced it *Asiatic Cholera*. Dr. Edkins, another member of the party, was stricken at the same time, but not with the same complaint. It was ascribed to the sickening and unwholesome scenes they had been through. Mr. Hall, in his letters to the Secretary, spoke in the most feeling and sympathetic terms of his companion's illness, and wellnigh despaired of his life. Not many men

come through an attack of Asiatic cholera. "For twenty-four hours," says Mr. Innocent, "I was at death's door. Good Dr. Henderson during this crisis stood by me, with my beloved wife, applying remedies and offering prayers, and through God's mercy and their devoted attention my life was spared." It turned to acute dysentery, which lasted for six weeks. Eventually he was hurried off to Chefoo, where his recovery was almost magical.

This episode is vividly depicted in quite charming language in an account by Mrs. Innocent :

"Shanghai was in a very unsettled state in August, 1860. The rebels had taken Suchow; the refugees from that place were living on Shanghai city walls. Food was given to them daily, but not sufficient to keep life in young growing lads, consequently many of them, of 16 and 17 years old died. There were daily births and deaths on the wall. Men were constantly taken up as spies, executed and their heads hung on the city walls. One day I counted 40 men led away to execution. Coming from Suchow, the missionaries, who had been to visit the 'Kun Wang,' had their boats pushed through the floating corpses of men and women all the way home. Dr. Edkins and my husband, owing to these unhealthy surroundings, came home ill with diarrhoea.

"Our house was outside the British settlement, some distance from the London Mission. Mrs. Dawson said she would take charge of our dear George at her home while the unrest passed, as in the event of our having to escape from our house, the child's cries might prove disastrous. A night or two after this my husband and Mr. Hall persuaded me to go for the night to Mrs. Edkins.' My husband walked

down with me, I went very reluctantly. Mr. Hall gave my husband castor oil when they got home, hoping to cure him of his diarrhoea. At six o'clock next morning he came for Dr. Henderson and myself, saying that my husband was very ill. On arriving at home I was greatly shocked to see my beloved husband pale, pulseless, and unable to speak to me. He had Asiatic cholera. Dr. Henderson looked very grave, and put large mustard plasters on his legs and feet, and gave him a teaspoonful of brandy at short intervals. I watched by him and prayed for him all that long day. Mercifully our tender, heavenly Father listened to our prayers, that went not out of feigned lips, and stayed the disease. But for three months afterwards my poor husband was very ill. In the meantime rebels were scouring the country and nearing Shanghai. We had a mountain chair in readiness, if necessary to carry away our invalid. August 17th I had just taken off a large fly-blister from my patient and was sitting down to read and watch for the night, when Mr. Hall came in quite excitedly, saying, 'I hear noises; we must have Mr. Innocent away at once. I said, 'He cannot be moved. It would be cruel to raise him up after that blister.' Mr. Hall: 'It cannot be helped; he must go!' Miss Vogler was in bed asleep. Her door was opposite mine, and I went and called her up. I was not undressed, neither was Mr. Hall. We put bolsters and pillows into the mountain chair, then carried the poor patient downstairs and placed him as comfortably as we could in a lying position. No coolies were at hand to carry the chair. Miss Vogler's cook and mine refused to carry the chair. I said to Mr. Hall, 'You and I will try to carry it.' I put my shoulders to the back part.

Mr. Hall took up the front. I could not lift my end. Mr. Hall managed to lift his, but we were helpless to move the chair. The men seeing this came to the rescue, and took it with the greatest ease, and we started. At our gate a Sikh soldier shook his lance in our faces and cried, 'Friend or foe?' We gave the password and went on our way. All was quiet on the way and at the London Mission all fast asleep in bed. I got my beloved to bed, and though faint, he did not succumb under the exertion. Next day the rebels did come to a place a mile or two from Shanghai. After a week or two we went back to our house. My husband kept in a very feeble state, leaning on his staff like an old man. In October the doctor said he must go to Chefoo. Dr. and Mrs. Edkins were also in a feeble state, so it was arranged that all three should go to Chefoo. Why did I not go as well? I was told afterwards that no one expected to see my husband come back alive. I myself had no such fear, though he had to be carried on to the steamer. My dear husband found at sea a most voracious appetite and had every encouragement to eat. After a month's stay in Chefoo he returned and reached home on November the 9th. It was night. Mr. Hall had gone to his room. Lizzie had the candle going on before me, while I carried baby George to bed. Lizzie ran back saying, 'There is a man!' The upper part of our front door was of glass. I went to see, and there was my husband. Such a change in him in so short a time I never expected to see. His trousers were tucked up, as the road was muddy, and showed such strong legs; his face was stout and rosy. I could not speak for laughing. We laughed so merrily that Mr. Hall came down to see what it was all about. And

then he began laughing, and so we kept up the chorus till we were all tired. We did thank God Who was better than all our fears."

Mr. Innocent had come home in a sailing ship from Chefoo. The visit had very much impressed him. Though it continued the interruption which sickness had brought to his studies, he considered the time well spent as he learnt much about the country, and especially it had opened his eyes to the great importance of the North. To the Western mind of that day, and especially to the commercial world, the term China almost exclusively connoted the southern and central provinces. The Occidental was almost as oblivious of the great northern provinces of the empire as the Chinaman was of the world outside China. The visit had opened his eyes to the wonderful opportunities for evangelism which lay untouched, uncoveted, almost we might say, undreamed of in the far north. With the eye of a strategist he took in all the advantages it presented; nearness to the capital, the healthy, stalwart physique of the people, their less sophisticated mental qualities, the great superiority of the climate, the unlimited field for expansion into Shantung, Shansi, Honan, Shensi, not to mention the vast stretches of Manchuria and Mongolia. He wanted to go to Chefoo and commence a mission at once, but he was anticipated by others. It is pertinent to observe in relation to the difference of opinion between our two pioneer missionaries on the question of the choice of field that each was impressed by what he saw. Had Mr. Hall gone to the north at this time, it is likely he would have felt the same. They were right missionaries; what they saw they loved, and what they loved they wanted to convert.



River Pei-ho, Tientsin.

During this period the momentous question, "Where shall our Mission be founded?" was very prominent in the minds of both our Missionaries, the more so as they took opposite views on the subject. Mr. Hall was extremely reluctant to abandon the original plan of settling in Suchow. It was plain they could not take up their abode there at once, but must wait for more settled times. It was only some 70 or 80 miles from Shanghai. They could watch for opportunities to visit it, and in the meantime be studying the language. In fact Suchow had captured his imagination, as indeed it might. It was a rich, magnificent city, the centre of a populous region. If the Italians say, "See Naples and die," the Chinese also have a proverb:

"Shang Yu T'ien Tang
Hsia Yu Su Hang."

"Above the sky is heaven itself,

"Below the sky are *Su (chow)* and *Hang (chow)*."

Mr. Innocent himself has appended to his diary Dr. Williams' description of the city taken from "The Middle Kingdom":

"The city of Suchow now exceeds Nanking in size and riches. It is situated on islands lying in the great lake. The walls of the city are about 10 miles in circumference. Outside of them are four suburbs, one of which is said to extend 10 miles each way. Besides which there is an immense floating population. The whole population cannot be far from two millions. It lies north-west of Shanghai, the way lying through a continual range of villages and cities. The environs are highly cultivated, producing cotton, silk, rice, wheat, fruit and vegetables.

The Chinese regard it as one of their most beautiful and richest cities. It has a high reputation for the splendour of its buildings, the elegance of its tombs, the picturesque scenery of its waters and gardens, the politeness and intelligence of its inhabitants, and the beauty of its women. Its manufactures of silk, linen and cotton fabrics and works in ivory, wood, horn, glass, lacquerware, paper and other articles are the chief sources of its wealth and prosperity. The silk goods produced here surpass in variety and richness those woven in other places."

In a letter published in "Consecrated Enthusiasm," Mr. Hall gives the population at 200,000. This is a slight mistake. There is a nought missing. But probably both estimates are false. A later authority gives 500,000.

Mr. Innocent was all for the north. Chefoo was bespoken, but there was Tientsin with its boundless possibilities untouched, and the Treaty making it an open port was being signed by Lord Elgin—ratified in Peking, 24th of October, 1860. There is no doubt this constituted a serious difference of opinion between the two men. On the other hand, there is no indication that it led to any unpleasantness or estrangement between them. Each pressed his views on the Committee, as was natural, and indeed right. Mr. Hall even suggested that, like Paul and Barnabas, they should divide, that the Committee should send out two new men, and that he with one of them should remain to take up Suchow, or else go up with Griffith John to Hankow, which would not have been a bad solution of the question. Careful consideration leads to the conclusion that when all is said Mr. Innocent took the more statesmanlike view. He has himself

given us the reasons for his own choice. They are disinterested and they are cogent :

“Peace was established in the north: the Yangtze Valley was still disturbed. The climate of the north was dry and bracing: that of Central China was humid and prostrating. Waiting in uncertainty was likely to disappoint friends at home, and to prevent our own concentration of mind on suitable study and preparation for our work. Immediate settlement would open to us a door of usefulness, and afford a basis of operations for the future. Even in learning the language, living with the people you intend to preach to is a great advantage. The chief consideration with me was for a new mission in an entirely new field where no other worker had been, not to enter into or intrude upon, or meet with restrictions from, other men's labours.”

The momentous question on which our two brethren were so strongly though not unamicably at issue, appears to have been decided for them by the Missionary Committee. It was in favour of John Innocent and Tientsin.

Respecting this, at the time very knotty question, the following observations may be made :

1. It was not a question of right and wrong, but of better and best. Both locations were extremely eligible.

2. There were no vain regrets. Mr. Hall went to Tientsin “with a good heart.”

3. The blessing realized in after years does not prove that a different decision would have been a mistake, but it abundantly justifies the choice made.

4. We are now represented in the region that was discarded: for our “Free Church” brethren took up

John Innocent

work in Ningpo in 1864, so that the United Methodist Church is well represented in Central China.

On Friday, March 15th, 1861, Mr. Innocent, escorted by Mr. Hall, went on board the "Maryland" and sailed from Shanghai for Tientsin, arriving there after a twenty days' passage, on the 4th of April. He had left the ship ten miles up the river and reached the port on a Chinese cart over a dusty road, about ten o'clock at night. He was alone, because when he left Shanghai he had "not enough money to pay the rent and take wife and child."

Suchow was retaken by General Gordon, November 27th and 28th, 1864. Suchow was eventually occupied by the Rev. Mr. Lambuth, of the American Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and afterwards by both the American Presbyterian Missions. At the present day our American Methodist brethren have a university there, and property estimated at 60,000 gold dollars (£12,000).

TABLE.*

Showing the date of foundation of the principal Protestant Missions in China, with place where begun.

A.D.	
505	Nestorian Mission came to China. Tablet at Hsi Ngan unearthed in 1865 is dated 781.
1292	Roman Catholic. John Corvino came to China. 1784 Roman Catholics severely persecuted.
1807	London Missionary Society. Dr. Morrison came to China.
1830	A.B.C.F. Mission (American). Canton, 1849 Shanghai.
1835	American Church Mission (Episcopal). Canton.
1837	American Baptist Mission. Macao. Canton 1845.
1844	Church Missionary Society. Shanghai.
1844	Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. North. Canton 1847.
1845	Baptist Missionary Society of England. Ningpo. Chefoo 1859.
1846	Basel (German) Mission. Hong-Kong and Canton.
1847	Methodist Episcopal Mission, U.S.A. North. Fuchow.
1847	Rhenish Missionary Society. Hong-Kong.
1847	Presbyterian, U.S.A. North. Canton.
1847	Seventh-day Baptists, U.S.A. Shanghai.
1849	Methodist Episcopal, U.S.A. South. Shanghai.
1850	Berlin Missionary Society. Hakkas, Canton.
1853	China Inland Mission. Hudson Taylor.
1860	METHODIST NEW CONNEXION. TIENTSIN.
1862	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. Hankow.
1863	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
1864	ENGLISH METHODIST FREE CHURCH. NINGPO AND WENCHOW.
1867	Presbyterian, U.S.A. South. Hangchow.
1869	Irish Presbyterian Mission. Manchuria.
1871	Canadian Presbyterian Mission. Formosa.
1875	United Free Church of Scotland. Manchuria.
1878	Church of Scotland Mission. Ichang.
1883	Church of England Mission, Zenana Society. Kucheng.
1884	English Friends Mission. Hankow. Chungking 1890.
1885	BIBLE CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY. YUNNAN; KWEICHOW.
1887	Swedish Mission in China. Shansi, Shensi, Honan.
1891	Scandinavian Mission Alliance. China. Shensi, Kansu. 1895 Mongolia.
1891	Canadian Methodist Mission. Chengtu.
1892	Swedish Baptist Mission. Kiaochow.

BIBLE SOCIETIES.

1812	British and Foreign Bible Society.
1832	American Bible Society.
1863	Scottish Bible Society.

* This list gives only important Missions. There are about 70 societies in all.

PART II.

From the Commencement of Missionary Work in Tientsin to the Death of Mr. Hall, 1861 to 1878.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CITY OF TIENTSIN.

THE City of Tientsin ("the heavenly fords") is situated on the right bank of the Pei-ho, close to the point of its junction with the Grand Canal. In fact, it is the meeting-place of several streams which converge upon it as a centre and, having joined the Pei-ho, form the lower portion of that stream, and by what is known to the Chinese as the Hai-ho (the sea river), run from Tientsin to the sea. Take an ordinary cart wheel, knock off its felloes, take out half of its spokes, and dislocate the rest into irregular positions, some much nearer to, and some much farther from, each other than the rest. These spokes may then represent the Hai-ho, the Pei-ho, the Grand Canal, the Hun-ho, the Shang-hsi-ho, the Shia-hsi-ho and one or two other streams. The hub of the wheel is Tientsin. It is distant about eighty miles from Peking, the capital of the Empire, and about thirty-five miles by road, but much farther by water, from the sea at Taku. Previous to the time of the Boxer outbreak, it was a large walled city, of rectangular shape, measuring about one and a

quarter miles from east to west, and about three-quarters of a mile from north to south. Its principal gates were regularly placed, the streets connecting them forming a cross with a large drum-tower in the middle of the city. The walls were in bad repair. The suburbs of the city are at least as large as the city itself, and contain the most important of its streets. They sprawl about in an irregular manner over the windings of the river which for two or three miles shows a perfect forest of masts belonging to sea-going junks and boats of various descriptions.

Around the city and its suburbs, and including also much vacant ground, had just been thrown up a military rampart of earth often spoken of by foreigners as "San Ko Lin-Sin's folly," the Tartar general of that name having constructed it to resist the approach of Lord Elgin's mission. It is known to the Chinese as the "Wei Tzü," "the defence," and has become another name for Tientsin. It was about sixteen miles in circuit, but is fast disappearing.

The Roman Catholic Cathedral, the scene of the massacre of 1870, occupies a uniquely commanding position at the junction of the Pei-ho with the Grand Canal. The site was taken from the Chinese without payment in 1860, an act of confiscation which rankled in the popular mind, and played its part in causing the massacre. Many important temples, mosques and yamêns adorn the city, though, on the whole, the structure of the buildings, until recently, was somewhat mean. In 1900, after the outbreak, the walls were razed to the ground, and, together with the narrow streets within and without the city, were converted into broad, straight macadamized roads, which are now traversed by an extensive electric tram system, and

lighted with electricity. In 1861 such things were all undreamt of, as were the extensive foreign settlements, British, French, German, American, Japanese, Austrian, Russian, which lie to the south-east of the city, and are far more imposing than the city itself. Tientsin is the port for the Metropolis. It has now a large import and export trade, is a great emporium for the salt condensed from the sea at Taku and carried in junks along the Grand Canal to the far interior, and is a great market for skins, camels' hair, pigs' bristles, and other products which come down from Manchuria and Mongolia. But in 1861 most of these trades were in their infancy.

The population of Tientsin is generally given as about one million. The same authority—"Phillips's Atlas of the World," recently published—which gives Suchow 500,000, gives Tientsin as 961,000. From personal knowledge and observation, and we have known Tientsin for thirty years, we should say it was rather under than over-estimated. Chinese from all over the empire are to be found in the city, and very largely supplement the original population, An-Hui, Canton, and Ningpo having important guilds located there, and Honan, Shansi, and Shantung contributing each its quota to the population. It is virtually the capital of the province of Chihli, Peking standing apart as the seat of empire, while Paotingfu, an important city to the west, holds that position only in a nominal sense. Tientsin is the seat of a Viceroyalty that governs the northern provinces. The Viceroyalty known as the Peiyang Ta Ch'en is the most important official appointment out of Peking. This was the proud position which gave to Li Hung Chang for many years, and to Yuen Shih K'ai recently, so great an influence in the

counsels of the Empire, and in both cases their removal to Peking, though placing them higher in the giddy upper ranks of mandarindom, was felt to be Irish promotion, received with outward professions of gratitude, but inward sentiments of deep chagrin.

Tientsin is a *modern* city. Its growth has been phenomenally rapid, both before and since its opening as a free port, and it is probable that before the rise of the Manchu dynasty, and the transfer of the seat of government from Nanking to the north it was comparatively unimportant. The last of the places on the Plan of the Tientsin Circuit, is Ta Chih Ku, a small village lying to the east of Tientsin railway station. There is a legend that once upon a time there were two Chih Kus, a Chih Ku Magna and a Chih Ku Parva; or, in other words, Ta Chih Ku and Hsiao Chih Ku. They were sister villages lying five or six miles apart; the larger one has remained much what it always was—an insignificant village. What is now Tientsin was then Hsiao Chih Ku. It spread and spread, swallowing up neighbouring villages, until the city wall was built, and it will soon include its larger sister in its circumference. In this it presents a complete contrast to Suchow, which is one of the most ancient cities in the Empire, someone Biblically-minded having referred its origin to the times of Ezra. The one represents the old China of the Mings, the other the modern China of the Tartars. Tientsin is the Birmingham, the Chicago of China. At the time when our missionaries entered it, it was little heard of in western countries; even now Cook's tourist tickets do not include it in their round.

In all probability Tientsin has before it a more brilliant future than most of the cities of the Empire. It is destined to be one of the greatest railway junctions

in the world. The railway line running from Tsingtao to Chinanfu will shortly connect with the Tsin-pu line to Tientsin. A line already runs westward to Pao-tingfu, and one northward to Peking and Kalgan. The great trunk line known as the Ching-Han line has its junction at Fengtai indeed, but connects with Tientsin, and links it, through Paoting, to Hankow. It will soon be extended into Canton. The new line known as the Pu Kow or Tsin Pu line, will have its terminus in Tientsin, will run to Nanking and thence to Shanghai. Most important of all, the great Siberian railway unites Tientsin in an easterly direction with Europe itself, and already passengers for Shanghai, Hong-Kong, Ningpo, and the whole south of China, are beginning to travel via Tientsin instead of Tientsinners travelling by these ports. The continuation of the Kalgan railway to join the Siberian route at Chiachta will shorten the journey to Europe by some days. Even this is not all; but a yet shorter route still is possible through Kansuh and Turkestan to Merv or Samarkand. It is already talked of, will some day be made, and what sounds incredible will then be realized, a run from Paris or St. Petersburg to Tientsin in a week.

Tientsin is a *progressive* city. Its proximity to the capital keeps it in touch with political and social movements, and as a port it is open to contact with the outside world. As a thriving and prosperous commercial centre, even in the early days, it was naturally open to progressive movements. At the same time it is far enough removed from Peking to keep free of the trammels of those traditions of mandarindom which have proved so stubbornly reactionary, and which to this day keep Peking conservative. The impact of modern civilization, which shocked China and stung the



A Tea Booth in Tientsin.

national pride, came first upon the south. The bitter hostility engendered by the opium trade was but little felt in the north, and, though anti-foreign, it was anti-foreign in a different way. Hostility in the south was due to knowledge, in the north to ignorance, and was therefore liable to soften under the influence of kindly relations. As the seat of empire, Peking responded to the grudges engendered by painful experience in the south, but they were not much felt outside its walls. The Tientsin massacre in 1870 was certainly a dreadful ebullition of public animosity, but, notwithstanding that lamentable outburst, we may say that Tientsin has never betrayed the deep hatred of the foreigner, and all his ways, which has characterized most of the great cities of the south. Since Boxer days it has been more progressive than ever. Its new streets, broad and well macadamized, houses built in Western style, shops literally teeming with foreign goods of every description, its electric tram-lines, and electrically-lit streets, its waterworks and flour mills, all show how conscious it is of the value of trade with other countries and the adoption of Western methods of life. It tolerated railways before they were tolerated elsewhere. It has an organized educational system second to none in China, far in advance of other cities, and men, women and children are displaying a remarkable taste for a knowledge of the English language and for modern science. In Tientsin we have three English daily newspapers, two French ones, one German, a Japanese, and quite a number of Chinese papers. It has a detective system, prison, reformatories, a mint, and civic lecture halls, and is asking for a municipality on the western model. It is strong in its advocacy of a new constitution, with a popular franchise. Nowhere is the rising spirit of

John Innocent

young China more in evidence, nowhere is there to be found a more fertile soil for the reception of new ideas. Perhaps more than any other great centre it leads the van of China's awakening life.

The choice of Tientsin as a centre for our Mission in China was a happy choice ; we believe that we were providentially led to its selection, but, so far as human will and conscious purpose went to determine that selection, they must be credited to the sagacity and perseverance of John Innocent.

CHAPTER VIII.

AT TIENTSIN.

A PEEP INTO THE DOMESTICITIES OF A MISSIONARY.

MR. INNOCENT did not quite realize his ideal of a completely new field entirely to ourselves. On his arrival in Tientsin that dark April night he was met and welcomed by the Rev. Henry Blodget, an American Congregational missionary, who had come up with the troops to Tientsin, and had spent the winter mostly in work among the soldiers. Health considerations had driven Mr. Blodget to Tientsin, where he arrived on a supply ship on September 28th, 1860. He had been a missionary in Shanghai for seven years, was on his way home with his wife, but on arriving at Yokohama a sea-captain offered him a passage to Tientsin. He took the offer, and, while Mrs. Blodget went on home, he proceeded to Tientsin. Afterwards Dr. Blodget became one of the stalwarts of the China Mission field, and removed to Peking in 1864, where he did valuable literary work, especially in the translation of the New Testament into Mandarin, and the rendering of hymns into Chinese. He died in 1903.

Mr. Innocent was overjoyed to see the face of so good a friend, and shared his quarters until he found rooms for himself, in which task he experienced considerable difficulty. His experiences and the state of his mind at this time seem to us to be beautifully, if somewhat naively, depicted in a private letter written to Mrs. Innocent, which our readers will be delighted to

have in full, as it affords a vivid peep at once into the bliss of his wedded life and the little domestic cares which beset the missionary.

From Mr. Innocent to Mrs. Innocent.

“ Tientsin, April 6th, 1861.

“ MY VERY DEAR WIFE,—What can I say, or what can I do for your comfort? I am in great distress of mind about you, for your letter indicates your great suffering, both of body and mind. How I wish I could fly to your side to aid in bearing your sorrow, or endeavour to mitigate in any way your great sufferings! I sincerely trust that you have found entire relief ere this, and that you are in a more cheerful state than when you wrote. If not, I shall be disposed to come to you, instead of welcoming you in this city. My heart is deeply affected and shocked with the news of dear George's death. I can hardly realize the fact, or suppose it possible that we shall not see him again. Still, my darling, we must remember that this visitation is tinged with the mercy of our God. It was manifest that God was preparing him for this change long before it took place; and his sufferings must have been great, and it is better to be relieved than to linger long in pain and helplessness. Linger, with certainty that his affliction would end in death, would have been more a source of continued anxiety and dejection to your dear sister than his somewhat sudden removal. Moreover, our kind heavenly Father has not brought this trial upon her without providing her with grace commensurate to her need. The greater the burden (and) the greater the measure of strength which the Lord gives to his children to enable them to bear it. Then, you know, she is surrounded by her dear and sympathizing relatives, so that she will

have every comfort hearts or hands can administer. We can only pray for her and sympathize in this her loss, and ours. It would be wrong to allow our sorrow to interfere with our work, or the exalted duties we owe to God and the world. Let us endeavour, therefore, calmly to submit to this dispensation, and trust in God to preserve to us still those who are left of our dear earthly friends. Be not dispirited, my darling, but be cheerful and happy in God. Though He has '*taken away*,' He has only *taken His own*, for He '*gave*,' and, everything considered, we have reason to say for even this, 'blessed be the name of the Lord.' Then, consider how much is yet left to you, and to your bereaved sister. And even if our dear son cannot come out to us, I am sure, if he is any comfort to your sister, you will be willing for him to remain with her now. Let us only go on working for God, and in His way, and all shall be well.

"I sincerely hope you will be able to join me soon here. Try to get the goods away at once, either through Mr. Soul or some other person. I learn that goods (furniture) cost more than any other freight, but the little furniture you have reserved, such as the round table and the chairs, had better come, as the furniture here is very inferior, though strong. I could manage with it, but you could not. Don't get any more, however. Then try to come up to me in the next mail if you can. Get some one to apply for you to the proper authorities. As you are ill, I would rather have you by my side than away. There are some good, kind medical men here, if we need their assistance, and the troops are not likely to leave for some time to come.

"There are several houses open to me, but I have not yet fixed on one, but will do so in a day or two.

Capt. Henderson is very kind to me, and so is Mr. Blodget, with whom I am living. He wants to be near to us and have Mr. Hall to live with him, as he is similarly circumstanced with regard to family. You must be prepared to meet with very dirty-looking towns up here, and dry, arid but *fruitful* country, and houses, for a good rent, that you can get along with very comfortably. If no money has come, I think you might as well try to come, and let Mr. Hall forward the money when it does arrive. We will endeavour to get on. I don't feel comfortable in your absence from me at all, especially as you are not well. The voyage, I am sure, will benefit you, and, as the climate here is much drier than Shanghai, it will be to your advantage. I am glad the dear child is well and so affectionate to you. I want to embrace him again: kiss him very warmly for me. I am also greatly obliged to Mrs. Wright and Mr. Hall for their kindness to you, and am rejoiced that Mr. Hall has encouraging news from his wife.

"The wall about this city is near four miles in extent, built square, and the top of it is wide enough for two carriages to drive abreast round it, except in some parts where it is broken, and, as it is paved all round, it is a very good promenade. The river and the Grand Canal join just outside the walls, and the suburbs of the city are more populous than the city itself. The river is just outside the city on the northern and eastern sides, and, as the suburbs are on both sides of the river, there are seven bridges of long boats across, which can be easily moved to allow ships to pass.

"All the foreigners are living in the north-eastern suburbs, right amongst the Chinese. There are some allotments of land ceded to foreigners, which are to be sold in May, but this concession is two miles out of the

city, on the river, and, though it may be bought up, it will be some time before foreigners build there, as they speak of the city as being preferable for business. It is certainly desirable for missionaries to live amongst the people. I am sorry we have not money enough to buy property, as there is a very large and suitable place for missionary or merchant premises, well built (to sell) for \$3,000 (about £600). The Chinese are now beginning to require very high rents for houses, and I fear we shall have to give nearly as much as we gave in Shanghai. I am resisting this, however, at present, and hope to get one without much trouble for much less.

“Monday, April 8th, 1861.

“I preached last night to the English soldiers and several foreigners, in a little room opened in the city for that purpose by two officers. These officers, Capts. Brooke and Gray, are very fine, devoted fellows, and a number of the soldiers have regular religious and temperance meetings under their and Dr. Blodget's countenance. I am quite at home with them, and hope to form a class for their religious instruction.

“I have got a clean, healthy-looking servant, twice the size of Loking, for 4,000 cash (about seven shillings) a month. He is a good reader and a clear speaker, and seems very honest. Mr. Blodget has a number of poor people who attend his Chinese service, to whom several officers give a catty (1 1-3 lb.) of rice each a week. The women are all widows, and he says one of them would be glad to serve you as a nurse, if you like. I don't think there will be any difficulty, therefore, in getting a woman. When you come, don't bring any washerman, for there are some here already. I have got two shirts washed and ironed for 100 cash (four pence),

which is at the rate of \$5 per 100 articles. But there is a person washes without ironing for \$2 per 100. This will meet the case for the present, and we can teach a servant to wash soon. It will be well for you to bring up a little butter (3s. 1 lb. tin) with you when you come, but nothing else. Some of the foreigners here have cows, but they yield very little milk. Perhaps it is because of the dryness of the season. However, I think we may understand it, and get the milk (8d. 1½ pints) we want. We can obtain a large wild goose here for 200 cash (about eightpence), and at any time can send to the (public) cook-house, and get a fowl, nicely cooked for the table, for 150 cash (7½d.). Meat, fish, fowl, and vegetables can be had in any quantity. Even bread, baked in foreign manner, of foreign flour, is brought to the door by the Chinese, who have learnt to make from the soldiers. There are good tailors who make coats and trousers and caps, and I don't know what else.

“April 10th, 1861.

“I now learn that square tables and cane-seated chairs are made here, so you had better not bring your black chairs. Suit yourself about the tables, but I think the square tables they have here would better suit the small rooms in Chinese houses, and, though they don't look so well as the large round table, would be quite as serviceable. There is abundance of coal and wood in the market here; Chinese anthracite coal, and, though dear, it is cheaper than at Shanghai. I dined yesterday off a wild goose, which cost in the market 180 cash (not quite tenpence): I enjoyed it very much. It will serve Mr. B. and myself for dinner to-day also. The weather is so warm here that I have been uncomfortably hot in walking about. To-day I have got



Tientsin : Chinese Junks.

my things, and am going to wear my white linen coat for the middle of the day. Day before yesterday we had a shower of sand or dust, which was so thick that it darkened the atmosphere and filled every place, and covered everybody and everything with dust. Sometimes, I understand, it is so bad that it is necessary to light the lamps in the houses to see what to do, and all the shops are quite closed up. It only occurs during a north-west wind, and on Monday was of short duration.

"I am weary of house-seeking. Every day has been spent in this business since I came, and nothing is yet settled. I have been to three or four this morning, and have offered for two of them. I hope to get one, and then proceed to put it in order. At any rate there is a room for you whenever you come, which I sincerely hope will be very soon. I would like you to get here before the Edkinses, if they are not coming at once.

"It appears that during the summer the heat is great here, and the people construct covers over the squares or yards on each side of which the rooms of a house are built. I think a good lot of old sacking would make a cheaper and a better shade than the Chinese make of poles and matting. I think of having a central pole, like the mast of a ship, and having a pulley so as to draw up the shade and draw it out when necessary. This would be lighter and better looking than the things in use. Perhaps I may be able to buy an old ship's sail, which would be better still. I bought a beautiful grey squirrel coat for you the other day, for which I gave ten dollars. The man said it was new, but it turned out that it had been worn, though it seemed no worse, but as it was not new I sent it back, and had the dollars returned. They are to be had in abundance, however, and now the season is over they are cheap. As you

don't need it this season, I will wait until you come, and you shall choose for yourself. Shall I buy one to send to Lizzie for next winter? There are some beautiful shops with beautiful things here for use and ornament.

"April 12th, 1861.

"The mail came yesterday, bringing your second precious letter. I am sorry I have not been able to send to you before, but to-morrow the mail leaves here. I am full of grief for you and the objects of your sorrow. Oh, how thankful I am that our dear Willie has been spared to us and has passed safely through this affliction! Let us thank God, and be encouraged by His mercy. Now, my dear, do make every effort to come by the next mail. Perhaps Mr. Hall, or, say, Mr. Soul, will urge the matter upon the parties who have authority to give you a passage. Do try. If not by that, you may come in the first vessel that leaves for this place, in which let all the things come but the furniture. If you can send them off at once, do so. You may send the chairs, as good ones are very dear, but not the table. Do not bring any rice. The servant (mine) has washed and ironed some things for Mr. Blodget very nicely. All here who know me are anxious for you to come, but none so much so as I am. The weather is delightful here, and I think you will be much better than in Shanghai. I long to press you again to my heart, and hear your dear voice of love, and help to make you happy. God bless thee, my own sweet wife, and keep thee in safety and in peace.

"Now don't wait for money. We shall do for some time, and the Lord will provide.

"Believe me, dearest, in warmest love,

"Thy most affectionate husband,

"JOHN INNOCENT.

“P.S.—Remind my darling Morrison (his son George) that his papa loves him and wants to see and kiss him.”

This letter is fairly long, but we confidently expect the thanks of our readers for transcribing it. It is, to us, a very gem of a letter; the more natural from its remarkable mixture of topics, from the most private and sacred feelings of the heart to the most trivial details of housekeeping. It is just a bit of Mr. Innocent's life, a small section cut clean and without reserve. It shows us clearly the man as he was, shows him as a missionary, a loving husband, a tender father, a constant friend, a business man, a thoughtful domestic manager. Mr. Hall, as “Consecrated Enthusiasm” shows, was a great letter-writer, but even he never surpassed the simple charm of this epistle.

A whole volume could not excel in effect the delightful peep which it gives us into the tender relations and complete mutual confidence subsisting between the writer and the partner of his life. Talk of woman being a help-meet for man, this shows the husband as a most amiable and practical help-meet to his wife. And he is quite the lover. We see how anxious he is for her to join him, with what quiet art at every turn he reiterates his patient longing, yet without dwelling too importunately upon it. But, strong as his affection is, it is not for a moment to draw him from his duty, or interfere with his devotion to his work.

What a thoughtful comforter he is! With what skill he lays himself out to say the right word at a time of bereavement and sorrow! How tenderly he touches the wounds, and how fruitful he is in topics of consolation, and what pious resignation his words convey and enjoin! Just a touch elaborate, perhaps, but he

is a master of healing words. The "George" mentioned here is Mr. Foreman, husband of Mrs. Innocent's sister, who took charge of their eldest child, Willie, when he was sent back from Portsmouth. "Ill tidings travel fast." The sad news had been sent on by Mrs. Innocent, and reached her husband within two days of his arrival in Tientsin.

Considering that this letter was commenced *two days* after Mr. Innocent's arrival, and the greater portion written *by the fourth day*, it is very surprising the amount of information on the most diverse subjects he has managed to get together. He has evidently lost no time. He has found a suitable property for Mission premises (if he only had £600 to buy it with), nearly taken a house, solved the male and female servant question, together with the problems of washing and baking, hunted up a quantity of furniture, and ascertained the price and quality of wild goose and ready-cooked fowl, besides knowing all about the city wall, the river, the suburbs, and the beautiful climate, qualified as it is by malignant dust-storms. He has been stirring early. Mr. Innocent was always an early riser. Many entries in his diary speak of rising at five a.m., which was his usual practice through life. No doubt at early dawn his figure would be seen on street and wall and river-side.

The mention of the very few foreigners in Tientsin apart from the soldiers, reminds us of the list he has drawn up of residents in Tientsin in 1861 and 1862. We give it in full:—British Consul, J. Morgan; Lindsay and Co., J. Henderson, at Kung Pei; Meadows and Co., J. L. T. Meadows; Philips and Moore, E. Waller, at Kung Pei; Maclean, at Kung Pei; T. Platt, at Kung Pei; Stamford, Richard, C. Grant, C. Mellor,

The First M.N.C. Mission Premises

—Stamman. These were *all* the foreign residents there were in 1861.

Mrs. Innocent did not come by any means so quickly as he wanted her to. She had to wait for the Edkinses after all, and it was on the 19th of May when they arrived. Mrs. Edkins was a literary lady, and in 1863 published a small volume of letters entitled "Chinese Scenes and People," which contains a number of interesting references to these days. We cannot do better than conclude this chapter with one of these references, which is very characteristic.

"Yesterday, Mrs. Innocent and I went in chairs through a part of the city. . . . We rode on to the house Mr. Innocent has rented, and there we halted. Mr. Blodget, an American missionary, shares it with him. (The lodger now lodging his host.) The first room we entered, and which we much admired, was the long neatly-papered preaching-room. The brick floor is tastefully matted, and little red-painted seats dot the place. It was opened last Sabbath. We next passed into another courtyard, where Mrs. Innocent's parlour is, all ready-roofed (paper ceiling) and papered for her—very neat and pretty it looked. Then into another court, in which stands a fine green tree, old and gnarled, and yet fresh, and beneath the shade of this we entered the bedroom division. Then we passed into a third and a fourth court, until we got to the back door, which opened on another street. All the rooms here are on the ground-floor, and run back in courts after this fashion."

Thus daintily does Mrs. Edkins describe for us the first Mission premises occupied by the Methodist New Connexion in North China, chapel and bungalow manse all contrived out of one native house.

CHAPTER IX.

FIRST BEGINNINGS.

THE EARLY YEARS FROM 1861 TO 1866.

“ALL beginnings are hard” is a maxim of wellnigh universal application, and it held with special force of the work upon which Mr. Innocent had now entered. The rank and file of Missionaries are happy in having a Mission to go to, but the pioneer Missionary must himself initiate and shape the work on which his life is to be spent. The difference is radical, and the latter calls for far higher qualifications than the former. It is the difference between working successfully in a groove, and having to cut for yourself the very groove in which you must work. We can imagine no task more calculated to invoke the involuntary exclamation, “Who is sufficient for these things?” than the one which lay before Mr. Innocent. A great heathen city of a million souls, a city teeming with busy life, with customs, manners, occupations, interests, purposes all so different from his own, and so hostile; every single man in it an utter stranger to him—not only strange in garb, in countenance and in speech, but, even suppose these outward differences removed, with still more formidable barriers left in the totally different springs of thought, of motive, of aim, and of aspiration, by which their minds were guided; all the traditions and ideals by which they were governed totally different from his own, beings of another inward world than that in which he moved. To undertake the work of conversion

among them—of producing a profound and spiritual change in what they held most dear, most sacred—such an errand might well be regarded by many as chimerical in the last degree. How to begin such a work, that is the momentous question to which this chapter must address itself.

But even for the beginner there is usually a beginning already made, or at least indicated. It was something to find Mr. Blodget, a missionary of experience, in Tientsin. His presence meant companionship, help, and a measure of guidance. The soldiers and their religious needs offered immediate occupation, which, if it was not his express errand to China to engage in, was at least so much in harmony with that errand that he could not set it aside. Then there was the language to be learnt, in itself a work sufficient to tax his mind for the next two years. Here were at least three starting points for his future work.

Within a few days he had made up his mind, to quote his own words, that Tientsin "would be a most suitable home for our infant church."

We have seen the efforts made to get a house, and that they at length succeeded. "On the whole," says he, speaking of his rooms, "they were quite as good as most of the buildings then occupied by either Consul, military officer, or merchant." While the house was being put into shape, he had a room, in which he tells us he sat with his teacher studying the language.

"My attainments did not admit of my taking any part in Mr. Blodget's Chapel beyond that of *leading the singing of hymns* which I learnt for the occasion. Mr. Blodget was no singer; the Chinese congregation could read the hymns but did not know our tunes. It was but a poor, still a useful, part of worship that I

rendered, yet I did it as unto the Lord. One Sunday, after some weeks had passed, Mr. Blodget was absent, and I then ventured to make my first attempt at giving a short address in Chinese." This notable effort was made on the 12th of May, 1861. "I prayed before going that the Lord would look favourably upon my first effort, and enable me to speak to-day and at all times to His glory. In singing 'Alas, and did my Saviour bleed' one old man was visibly affected." He preached the same evening to the English, including, we presume, the soldiers, on "Enoch walked with God."

Another and very admirable way in which he attempted to break ground in this virgin soil was by going out for a walk, carrying Scriptures and Tracts to give away, and engaging in conversation with any one who gave him an opportunity. The freedom and readiness with which the Chinese talk to strangers, so different from the Englishman's taciturn habits, made this easy, and when it is a foreigner speaking Chinese, the chief danger is that his audience may get too big for comfort. Under date June 20th, 1861, in Mr. Innocent's diary there is this interesting entry:—"Took a number of books in the afternoon, and spoke to a few men on the West Gate. In conversation on true and false gods, one man asked me if we had no 'Kuei Shen,' or family gods. Said he did not worship in the temple. Promised to come to chapel. I did not feel so diffident to-day. The books much appreciated." The diffidence would be owing to his imperfect command of the language. There are many indications that both Mr. Innocent and Mr. Hall did a great deal of this kind of work, and that it soon began to bear fruit. Here is a second entry we may notice: "Sunday, May 9th. I went out to try to speak this morning, and distribute a number of books.



Tientsin : Old Clothes Street.

I made a beginning at speaking, but was nonplussed by a man, who seemed very attentive, suddenly asking me what kind of cloth my vest was made of. This agitated and confused me so that I gave up. I did wrong in not proceeding. If ever I am to do anything here I must rise above this extreme sensitiveness. I have too much of it. I trust the Lord will enable me to overcome it and to speak His word with all boldness." These little feelings have to be got over when the thermometer stands at 106 in the shade, as he tells us it did that day.

During these days Mr. Innocent began to give attention to the young. One obvious way of working, and one which has held a very important place in missionary work from the beginning, is the foundation of schools. The true missionary is at least as much a teacher as a preacher, and it has been the continued recognition of this fact which has led to the foundation of the many different schools on the Mission. We shall, therefore, regard with peculiar interest the first school established by Mr. Innocent. He had already secured a number of boys, some ten or twelve, who were willing to attend, and secured a teacher. He was engaged on the understanding that the New Testament was to be studied part of each day, and native books during the other part. He tells us his motives in commencing this school. "To help me in the acquisition of the language, and enable me to do some work for the Lord." In his diary we find this entry for Monday, July 22nd, 1861, "To-day commenced my school with the nice-looking Chinese boys. I hope God will help me to impress truth upon their hearts and teach them the way to heaven." He acted as his own superintendent, and he tells us it gave him the opportunity of being present every morning

for Scripture reading and teaching the boys to sing Christian hymns, and recorded the fact with evident pride that more than a year afterwards "this heathen teacher was one of our first baptized converts. He took great interest in this school, and was often to be found there, catechizing 'the nice-looking Chinese boys.'" Apparently the nice-looking room for preaching was used as a school-room, and when the nucleus of a tiny Church was formed they probably also held services in it on Sabbath days.

About three weeks previous to this he had made another important change in the premises at his disposal. Although the room above referred to was spoken of as a preaching room, it was evidently for some reason unsuitable, and he had been for some time anxious to secure a better. There was no money with which to hire fresh premises, but his ingenuity soon solved the problem. On June 20th he has the following entry in his diary: "This is an important and interesting day to me. I have realized in part the object of my coming to this land, the opening of a suitable place for expounding the Word of God to the Chinese. The street behind my house is a large public road, in which stands also the Yamên of the City Magistrate. On this account there is a constant flow of respectable people to and fro. The premises I rent contain a large room which stands out a little in this street, enabling me to open a door out of it right upon the road. By this door the purpose of the room publishes itself, as all who pass can see what is going on inside. To-day I have had this room consecrated to the Lord and formally opened for the preaching of the Gospel. I invited my kind friends Mr. Blodget to preach in the morning and Mr. Edkins in the afternoon. On both

occasions, and especially the latter, the company was larger than could have been expected, especially as it had not been published in any way. Getting the room nearly full from those who were passing by speaks well for the eligibility of the situation. The greatest attention was paid to the two brethren, and I trust good would be done." This preaching room was, we believe, quite near to the premises now held by the A. B. C. F. M. Mission,* a considerable distance from the place we afterwards secured in an unrivalled situation on a busy street near the "Niang Niang Kung," "Our Lady's Palace," being the temple of a goddess—the Chinese Aphrodite, presiding genius of the sea. Our chapel there was known as Kung Pei Chapel. It was taken on what is known as a "pawn lease"† in 1866.

So far Mr. Innocent had been working single-handed, but a fresh pleasure awaited him in the arrival of his colleague, Mr. Hall. He himself made much of the event. "Great was my joy on September 2nd, 1861, to be joined by my colleague in Tientsin. It was a great comfort to be together again after five months of separation. We had much to talk about, and many plans to consider. He entered heartily into the work I had commenced, the day school, and the preaching room and book distribution. We consecrated ourselves by prayer, and sought for the Divine blessing on our united labours. Ten days before Mr. Hall's arrival, our dear friend Rev. J. Edkins had lost his amiable wife, a lady whose intelligence, kindness of heart, and devoted piety had won for her the esteem and love of all who knew her. Mr. Hall at once arranged to live with Mr. Edkins,

*The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (the great Missionary Society chiefly supported by the Independent Churches of the U.S.A., like the London Missionary Society in England).

†A "pawn lease" is much the same as our mortgage.

for their mutual comfort, until his own wife should arrive from England. He soon made himself at home with the officers and soldiers of the city, and, with his usual cheerful earnestness, identified himself with every movement for their spiritual welfare, and greatly was his labour appreciated and blessed." "As iron sharpeneth iron, so doth the countenance of a man his friend." The two brethren worked in perfect unison in the promising sphere now opened up to them. They both took part heartily in various kinds of work for the welfare of the soldiers, and in reading over the account of these activities we come upon a record which has historic interest.

"Another congenial department of work claimed attention in these early days, that of visiting the sick soldiers in the military hospital. The summer was a very unhealthy one. Many of our soldiers were stricken with fever, and some with sunstroke. In visiting the wards to minister to these sufferers I often found a young captain sitting by some of the beds reading aloud, or more quietly attending to a particular invalid. This young man was Captain Gordon. We thus became acquainted, and he often solicited my special attention to some who were beyond all hope of recovery. He sometimes came with his lantern at midnight to my house (half a mile from the hospital) to take me to speak and pray with a dying man. Tommy Atkins had no more genuine and sympathetic friend than this young officer, who afterwards distinguished himself as GENERAL GORDON."

And now we come to an event of special interest, the circumstances attending which are narrated by Mr. Innocent with becoming pride.

"On the 22nd of this month (September, 1861) the

only missionary lady then in Tientsin gave birth to a daughter. Annie Edkins Innocent was the first British subject born in Tientsin, and the first birth registered in the records of the British Consulate of that port."

We may, perhaps, here anticipate a little, and record the fact that Mrs. Hall arrived in Tientsin from England during the month of March, 1862. Apparently Mr. Innocent was away on a long tour in Pao Ting Fu and Tai-Yuen-Fu. Mr. Hall must have had a long and anxious time, and have often felt lonely during the long period whilst he was separated from his family; and his discomfort would be no little heightened by the almost constant ill-health from which Mrs. Hall suffered. About eighteen months previously she had made an attempt to come out, but was taken so ill on the passage that she was compelled to return to England a second time. They had been separated for close upon two years and a half, since the memorable time when, on account of the severities suffered in the Channel, she had been compelled to abandon the voyage at Portsmouth. Great was her husband's joy when she joined him, accompanied by their little boy. It was indeed a glad re-union, not only for husband and wife, but also for our little Mission band in China. To Mrs. Innocent the arrival of her former friend and companion was full of comfort and delight, for foreign ladies were scarce indeed in Tientsin in those days.

Pleasant as this re-union was, it was not to last for long. In another two years and a half it was broken never to be restored on earth. On September 20th, 1864, Mrs. Hall died in a tragically sudden manner. A distinguishing feature of Mr. Innocent's character was its habitual calmness, and this characteristic is very marked in his recital of most of the experiences, even

those of a distressing character, which he was called upon to pass through. But that calmness is utterly broken as he recounts the harrowing story of her alarmingly and unaccountably sudden death. True to himself, however, he remembers the details of the sorrowful event.

“Mrs. Hall, who has not been well for several days, felt worse to-day, supposed to be fever and ague. Went to bed in the afternoon at my request. Mr. Hall was unable to leave his bed, so I remained at home to attend to them. The doctor called in the evening and said that Mrs. Hall had ague, but might be better if got into a perspiration. He requested me to mix a powder of 3 grains of calomel and 5 of Dover’s powder, which I did. I afterwards gave her a cup of tea, and she rose to undress for the night. I went into the adjoining room, and immediately Mrs. Lees and Mrs. Henderson came in. In a few minutes I sent them forward to Mrs. Hall’s room, who had just got into bed. While they were in the act of raising the mosquito curtain to speak to her in the usual way, Mrs. Hall exclaimed, ‘Dear me! How strange it is I cannot see you!’ Then with a sudden jerk she rolled over in bed, lifted up herself as a fluttering sigh escaped her; then she dropped upon the pillow. I had been called by the ladies immediately on entering the room, and, as my dear friend was sinking down, I raised her head upon my shoulder and supported her in an upright position, hoping it was only a fainting fit; but alas! life was gone! We sent immediately for the doctor, and used all means to restore her, but in vain. Her poor husband was on another bed in the same room, and, though we tried to hide the truth from him, he soon began to suspect the worst. He rose from his

bed and came to her side, making the most passionate appeals, and urging various expedients. But in vain; his voice she heard not, restoratives availed not, she was beyond the reach of human voice or aid, and her sainted spirit had already ascended to join the spirits of the just made perfect. What a night of distress that was to us none but God knows. . . . He sobbed and wept most piteously . . . and we wept with him." Mrs. Hall was buried in the new cemetery just opened, the ceremony being conducted by Mr. Innocent. She was the first person interred there."

We must return from this sad picture to an earlier period, and take up the interrupted thread of events which led to the development of the Mission. Among the most important of these must be reckoned the coming of Mr. Hu. Mr. Hu was a native of Koku, a town lying on the river between Tientsin and Taku. He had been in Shanghai for some years, where he had been converted to Christianity. In the spring of 1861 he returned to his home, where he was taken ill for some time, after which he had been busy with family affairs until the autumn. In November he came up to Tientsin, bearing a letter of introduction from Rev. W. H. Lambuth, commending him to the care of our missionaries. Mr. Innocent looked upon it as a gracious favour of Providence that in the initial stage of the Mission such a man should be sent to us. He writes of Mr. Hu, "We soon found that he was a man of sterling faith and fair abilities, well-informed in Christian truth, and we gladly admitted him to our fellowship. Thus our first member of the Native Church was by transfer from a sister Church in Shanghai. We found him so well acquainted with Gospel truth, and so willing to make it known to his

countrymen, that we resolved to make him a Catechist. On the 20th November, 1861, Hu Ngen Ti was registered on our Church record as appointed native assistant in our Mission." Our first Christian member became our first Christian worker.

This was not done without a great deal of deliberation on the part of the two brethren. They were extremely anxious to guard against employing men or even baptizing them, if they showed any sign of "interested motives," and, with what seems an excess of caution, they surrounded the engagement with stringent conditions. He was to satisfy them as to his Christian character and refute certain reports they had heard. He was to be kept under their constant notice. He was to attend daily at the chapel. Fortunately, although he had been a teacher of Mandarin to Mr. Cunningham in Shanghai, and his son had been Mr. Innocent's own teacher there, he did not *ask* for employment of any kind. It was well he did not. Had he done so, it might have been fatal to his success. So excessively careful were they, one would naturally suppose they were going to pay him a large stipend. They fixed his salary at the munificent sum of ten pounds per annum.

The new Evangelist gave every satisfaction, proved a willing as well as an able worker. He took on much of the city preaching work, accompanied them for the purpose of daily street talks and the distribution of books. Mr. Hu was a capital preacher, as all who have heard him will testify; not showy, but solid and forcible, and well versed in the Scriptures. He had great administrative powers, showed much tact in business matters, was a very tower of strength to them, in fact, and when, in 1866, the call to enter Shantung came,

he proved the strong man they needed to grapple with the situation, and had more to do with the founding of the work there than any other Chinaman. Mr. Innocent gives the following testimony to his acceptability in Tientsin.

"Mr. Hu was the *first native of Tientsin* to preach the Gospel to his own people. Mr. Blodget had no native helper. Mr. Edkins had brought up a Christian preacher with him from Shanghai, whose speech was rather unintelligible to the northern people. But here was a man whose speech at once arrested attention as that of a native of their own 'Hsien' or county, and who seemed so familiar with the new doctrines brought to them by the foreigners that he was able to expound them with ease and convincing power. How had he acquired this knowledge, seeing the foreigners had only just come to the place? This was the question often started in the minds of his hearers, and sometimes put to him vocally. It was with no small delight that Mr. Hu often related the interesting story of his own conversion in Shanghai, and the remarkable Providence which had led him through peril, suffering, and loss that he might find the great treasure of salvation through faith in the Lord Jesus Christ."

This account of the good effect of Mr. Hu's preaching naturally leads on to the mention of the general impression produced by the first preaching of the Gospel on the populace of Tientsin as observed by Mr. Innocent. The language of the Greeks of the Areopagus, when Paul first appeared at Athens, exactly represents the spirit of trivial curiosity with which the message was first received—"What will this babblers say?" "He seemeth to be a setter forth of strange gods!" Mr. Innocent has left us an account of their

common mental attitude as he conceived it, which is well worth reproducing:—

“The people had become somewhat familiar, by the residence of British troops, with one peculiarity of the foreign religion, viz.: Sunday, which they called ‘worship day.’ Every seventh day they saw the soldiers from their different quarters march, preceded by a band of music, to some large building or open space, where solemn worship was conducted. They noticed that it was a day in which all secular labour was suspended, much to the surprise and pleasure of native labourers and servants employed by the troops, who got seven days’ pay for six days’ work. But they, of course, thought such a religious observance had nothing to do with them. It was suitable for foreigners, a national custom associated with peculiar doctrines of the western sage, which did not concern them at all. The curious among them enquired what the soldiers worshipped—there was no idol to which they bowed—and concluded that they worshipped heaven—‘pai T’ien’: very proper, the Chinese did the same. The only difference was in the forms and mode; the *principle* was the same.”

It somewhat staggered these people when the missionaries commenced preaching to them the doctrines and observances of the religion of foreigners, and appealed to their reason and conscience about the claims of Christ on their faith and loyalty. It was a new thing to them to have the teachings of the Western Sage they called Jesus Christ paraded as superior to the tenets of Confucius. They showed a cool and sometimes disdainful attitude towards the preachers on the streets, and sometimes scornfully rejected the Christian books offered to them. Under the circumstances, such



Tientsin : Park on British Concession, with
Town Hall in the background.

an attitude was not to be wondered at. "Here were the soldiers of the nations who had just conquered the country by superior arms, and now they want us to change our religion." To the intelligent among them it looked like another invasion of the foreign foe, come to make war with their oldest and most sacred institutions and traditions; with this happy difference, that whereas they had not been able to resist foreign armies, they might be able to resist foreign doctrines. They could refuse to hear the preachers or to read the books. They could maintain a sullen reserve, and by their apathy and persistent but quiet resistance of the propagandists, wear out their patience and perhaps force them to retire.

Such seemed to be the temper and spirit of the Tientsin people. Unlike the Hindus, they showed no enthusiasm for their own faiths. None of their priests came forward to challenge the teachings of the missionaries, or to dispute with them in the market-place or at the street corners. No one came out to fight the new antagonist to their cherished superstitions or dogmas, neither was the hand of violence lifted. Amongst the common people who listened to the missionaries out of curiosity were many who sat and nodded acquiescence to the doctrines taught, and smilingly avowed to their faces the high excellence of their teachings. But, while thus with outward complaisance indicating approval, they doggedly held to their own religious views. If questioned on the matter, they flatteringly said, "Your doctrines are very good, all the same as ours." On pointing out some vital differences, the ready explanation was, "These are not important, and only arise from the different customs of different countries." And so they held their own.

Still some ferment was caused by this innovation. The people would talk about this new faith in their homes, in their shops, in their tea-houses. Curiosity-hunters would come to the preaching-rooms to look on and listen. The lazy and ignorant strollers on the street would come and sit awhile and ask for books, then go away and talk to others, who in their turn would also come. Some who had *read* the books came to inquire the meaning of some passage that was not clear to them, and take away other books to read. And so day after day the chapels became well filled, the shyness passed away, and gradually those who became interested got into the habit of coming until the truth took hold of them, and they were led to identify themselves with the alien faith. Those who did not receive the faith gradually looked apathetically on the teachers and allowed that they did no harm. Then the preaching-halls were so open to everybody, it was an additional diversion to the people to go and sit there to hear the foreigners talk "Tao-li" (i.e., doctrine). So that the congregations were daily kept up by all classes of people.

So early as April 24th, 1862, Mrs. Innocent commenced a school for Chinese girls. In an oriental country like China, where the seclusion of women is very rigid, where infanticide has been the fate of thousands of females, and where foot-binding is the "outward and visible sign" of many less obvious restrictions, it may readily be imagined that work for the female sex, whether young or old, meets with far more opposition than that for men. But Mrs. Innocent was as zealous a missionary to the full as her husband, and was determined to overcome it. She seems to have commenced with only two scholars, one of whom came

to her under very romantic circumstances. She came from Shanghai, a pretty little child, about six years of age. Readers will recall our interest in the city of Suchow. Well, this child had been picked up at Suchow about two years before by a Mr. Grant, who visited that place with another gentleman soon after it was taken by the rebels. She was first seen with a little boy, and the next day was found by his side on the street, though he was dead. She was taken, sad little waif, by Mr. Grant to the military officer of the place, who allowed him to bring her away. The officer said she was the child of a Mandarin of Suchow who, with his wife, had been killed in the taking of the city. Mr. Grant gave her to Mrs. Innocent, and promised to pay for her maintenance. The other little girl was the daughter of a widow woman who acted as Mrs. Innocent's nurse. From that time onward Mrs. Innocent laboured assiduously for the women and girls of China, not only in the work of teaching, but also, assisted loyally by many ladies in England, forerunners of the Ladies' Auxiliary Society, in raising the funds necessary to carry on the work.

A number of interesting events belonging to the early period, from 1861 to 1866, must be given in brief summary. Some of them are well deserving of more extended chronicle did space permit.

The house first taken by Mr. Innocent as a city chapel was situated at Pei Ts'ang—"Northern Granary." The chapel there was only a room in Mr. Innocent's house, though it served its purpose admirably for the time. It was very desirable to have a more commodious place of worship, and one entirely detached from a dwelling house. On April 7th, 1862, the Chapel at Ku Lou Pei—"Drum Tower North"—was rented, and on May 9th

it was formally opened. It was on the main street running from the south to the north gate, quite close to the Drum Tower with an idol manufactory on the other side. The Drum Tower is one of the "antiquities" of Tientsin, a huge, ugly brick structure in the very centre of the city, bestraddling with gloomy arches the two main streets where they cross each other; like "Temple Bar" was, it is a great obstruction to the thoroughfare. From its great clangorous bell was sounded the signal for the massacre of 1870. Even the ravages of Boxerdom have left it standing. We remained under its shadow until 1876, when the premises were given up. Our first baptismal service was held June 1st, when, with all solemnity, Bro. Wang Ssü T'ai, an elderly man, and Bro. Yü Ch'ing Po, were received into the Church. Shortly after, on August the 31st, two notable additions were made in the baptism of Wang Yi Hua, and Ting Hsin Pei. The fifth baptism was Bro. Chang Shao Hsüan, January, 1863. On March 29th, 1863, Mr. Innocent baptized a notable group of four: Tso Tsui Ch'uan, Chao Chi Lung, Chang Ch'ih San, and Hu Tzü Ngen. A little later Li Wan K'u was baptized. These ten names, all received during the first two years of the Mission, may be placed on record as its first-fruits, early worthies who, in St. Paul's phrase, were "with us from the beginning." Let us have their names, as they have been written to-day by the most illustrious of their number, in their own language, that we may give them due impressiveness, and that we may see how they look at the head of the old church register in the college library. Read perpendicularly! They *stand upright*:—

李萬庫 胡子恩 張持三 趙起隆 左萃川 張少宣 丁心培 王逸華 余晴波 王思泰

Of these Wang Yi Hua, Ting Hsin Pei, Chang Shao Hsüan, Chang Ch'ih San, and Hu Tzü Ngen became distinguished preachers among us. Hu Tzü Ngen was the son of Mr. Hu, our first preacher. Tso Tsui Ch'uan was grandfather to Rev. Tso K'o Ch'eng, who became one of our ordained preachers. Chang Ch'ih San was also ordained, and was from its commencement Chinese Principal of our Training Institute until a year ago. Of these ten only two, Chang and Hu,* remain unto this present." Both have retired from active service.

Rev. C. A. Stanley came on March 13th, 1863, to take the place of Mr. Blodget, that gentleman having gone to Peking the year before. Mrs. Stanley has just died (September, 1908). Her husband, now Dr. Stanley, remains in Tientsin, the last of the early missionaries. April 12th, Mr. Innocent paid a visit to Peking. In 1863 a child was born to Mr. and Mrs. Hall, but died the next day, to their great grief.

Land was purchased, about an acre and a third, close to the British Settlement, in 1862, and two houses were erected, partly of brick, partly of mud, for our missionaries' residence. A small chapel was erected in the same compound in 1864. The London Mission, as we have seen, opened work in Tientsin under Rev. J. Edkins, afterwards the celebrated scholar and writer, Dr.

* Both brethren have passed away since these lines were written.

John Innocent

Edkins, who removed to Peking with Dr. Blodget, May 12th, 1862. His place was taken by Rev. Jonathan Lees, who was for many years a close friend of our missionaries. It will thus be seen that the three Missions, the A. B. C. F. M. (Congregational), our own Mission, and the London Mission, were all established within a year of each other. The Episcopal Methodist Mission of America was opened considerably later. Mr. Lees returned to England fairly heart-broken after the Boxer outburst, and died June, 1902.

The first time the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered in Chinese on the Mission, was February 1st, 1863, an impressive service, with Messrs. Hall and Innocent both present. On November 9th, 1864, a new chapel was rented on the east side of the river, near the Hsiao Shen Miao, and another near the Bridge of Boats, January 6th, 1864. We also held a Chapel on the Nan Hsia Chieh in 1865. Kung Pei Chapel was opened in 1866, on March 6th. A famous baptism, that of Mrs. Hu, wife of the elder Hu, who became a female evangelist for many years, and spent herself in zealous works, took place on August 20th, 1865. Two girls were baptized with her. Mr. Innocent's third son was born on 3rd of February and baptized by Mr. Hall on the 21st of March, 1866. His second son, George, left China for England for education May 19th, 1866. Mr. Innocent's father, George Innocent, died at Sheffield on January 30th, 1866, being 57 years of age.

These first five years of work in Tientsin show Mr. Innocent as a devoted, conscientious and zealous missionary. All his life long he was an early riser. He was usually in his study, even in the summer months, soon after day-dawn. He was never a rapid worker, but he was indefatigable to the last degree. Neces-

sarily, much of his time in the early years was taken up with the study of the language, and a number of important Mission tours were taken. What with home letters, and his numerous relations with missionaries in other parts of China, his correspondence was very considerable. Preaching to the foreign soldiers in English, preaching in the Chinese chapels to his members and to outsiders, preaching and conversing on the streets and distributing books, catechizing school boys, interviewing all who sought him for guidance, often in personal matters not directly concerned with his calling, managing business affairs, accounts, exchange of money, house building and chapel building,—it was a busy life.

His personal interest in the men who came in contact with him, especially those who joined the Mission, was remarkable. Their cares were his cares, their troubles and sorrows his. He was the constant recipient, generally unsolicited, for he never intruded upon their private affairs, of their confidences, and no father confessor ever was more ready with instruction, counsel, warning, admonition, advice. He was never too busy to face the duty of the moment, his time was at their disposal. The younger missionary arriving later in China could not help wondering at his intimate knowledge of every man on the Mission in Tientsin, and a large number of those in the country. He invariably spoke of them by their full name, including their personal appellation, their *Christian* name, as we should speak, as well as their surname. It was not teacher Hu the elder or teacher Hu the younger, or pastor Chang; but Hu Ngen Li, or Hu Tzü Ngen, or Chang Ch'ih San. One marvelled how he carried all their names in his head, for it included scholars and members as well.

John Innocent

It was not by conscious effort that he did this; it was the spontaneous result of his intimate relation with them. He could generally tell you all their family history. He had taken them in one by one, and taken them into his heart. He was far less impulsive than Mr. Hall, but a true and staunch friend to every member of his Church, and often enough his purse had to suffer for the strength of his sympathy. His interest was a prayerful interest. Whether it is counsel, instruction, reproof, or discipline which forms the subject of the numerous references in his diary, it is almost always accompanied by a petition for their welfare. Wellnigh every entry is a prayer. Never did pastor rejoice more than he did at the spiritual growth of his flock.

Looking at the progress made in those few years, one cannot but be struck with the remarkably high quality of a large proportion of those first few converts. We have certainly never been able to secure such an average since. Of the ten first converts whose names we have given, five became preachers. The weakest among them was Hu junior, and even he was above the average of our preaching staff. Two of their number, Wang and Chang, easily surpassed in expository and hortatory power the best men we have had to the present day. All our theological training, and all our systematic examinations have not enabled us to produce superior, or even equal men, in their priceless value to the Mission. A sixth, Li Wan K'u, though in a much humbler walk of life, never more than a chapel-keeper, yet such a chapel-keeper, was a servant never surpassed in zeal and loyalty to the Mission. An ignorant man, who taught himself to read the New Testament (much more difficult in Chinese than in English), a chapel-keeper that you could not keep out of the pulpit—one of the

greatest exhorters we ever had. Only two out of the ten had nothing remarkable about them. We are not in the least disposed to exaggerate. It is much more our habit of mind to explain what appears marvellous on natural principles than to see the marvellous in the commonplace, and find miracles and prodigies in ordinary characters. But, beyond all controversy, these were no ordinary characters. If eight out of every ten of our converts nowadays were equal to these first samples, we cannot think what would be the result. But it would certainly be a blessed result. Looking at it in the coldest and most dispassionate way, it is irresistibly impressed upon us as a conviction from which there is no escape, that in the beginning God gave to us most remarkable men, every one of whom counted, and whose character and gifts and services were the seed of a vigorous and flourishing Mission.

The Church in Tientsin was now firmly established. We had gained a footing so secure that it was beyond the reach of accident. In the phrase our people love to use when speaking of a cause well and securely established, we had been able to "tsa ken," were firmly "rooted." In 1866, with 4 chapels, 2 day schools, a boy's boarding-school, a girls' boarding-school, and a small blind school, we reported 24 full members and 7 probationers. Within the time which makes the ordinary period of service in an English Circuit, we had established a well-organized and vigorous Church in one of the greatest cities of China, gathered into its fellowship the men who were to be the missionaries of a future and far wider evangel, and were already on the eve of a far more prosperous day. Toward this result the two men who left England in the autumn of 1859 as our pioneer missionaries had worked with equal zeal,

John Innocent

but certainly, so far as it was due to human effort at all, our first meed of praise is owing to the sagacity, the organizing talent, and the unremitting and patient devotedness of John Innocent.

CHAPTER X.

THE STUDY OF THE LANGUAGE.

HITHERTO we have made little mention of Mr. Innocent's work as a student of Chinese. But it seems desirable to make more extended reference to the subject on several grounds. The language is peculiarly interesting in itself, the mastery of it is a task beset with so much difficulty that it imposes on the very threshold of his career a severe test of the missionary's powers, his success must necessarily depend largely upon the degree in which he manages to acquire it; it is so much a language *sui generis*, that any notion that the Chinese missionary's task is analogous to that of the missionary to any other non-English-speaking country is entirely delusive. We, therefore, propose to give our readers some idea of the nature of the task, and the degree in which Mr. Innocent succeeded in it.

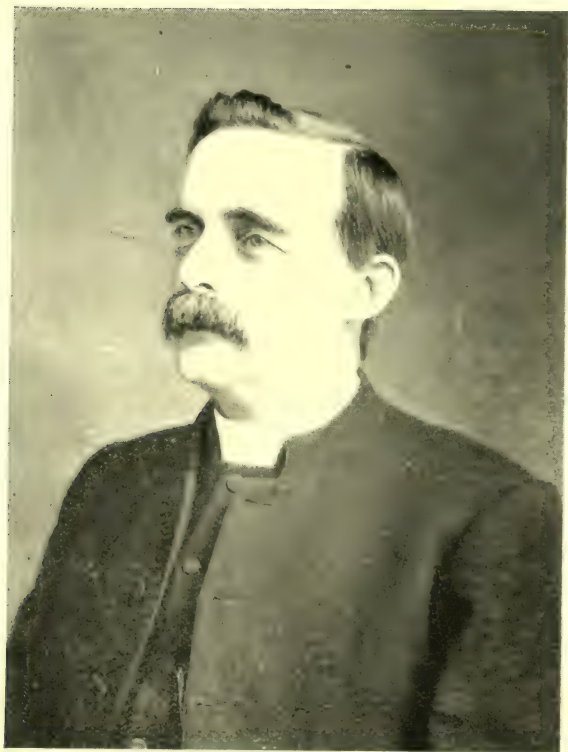
It is probably the idea of most people that the missionary on first arriving in China has before him, in the acquisition of the language, a sufficiently formidable stint of work, but that this only applies to the first two or three years, after which, having got hold of the language (such is the ordinary phrase), all is plain sailing. After that he can preach and do his work with the same facility as though it were his native tongue. Those of us who have the task to face, however, know to our cost, how different the reality is, and that no matter how long we remain in the country,

if we have set before ourselves any high ideal of attainment, we must be for ever learning, and the task is *never* done. It has been said of Dr. Edkins, of whom we have often made mention as a friend of Mr. Innocent and who was one of the finest sinologues China ever saw, that having been in the south for a few years before he came north in the wake of Blodget and Innocent, though he lived in Peking for at least thirty years, he always spoke with a southern accent, and after fifty years in China was accustomed still to set himself a number of new characters to learn every day. It is related of Wells Williams, that though he could write every character in his large dictionary, which contains between twelve and thirteen thousand, he was often unintelligible to his hearers. Mr. Hedley, in his "Our Mission in North China," has very racily described the difficulties which Chinese, as a spoken language for easy conversational purposes, presents, and has given good practical advice as to how they may be overcome. No one of average ability need despair, but yet it remains true that for the ends a missionary has in view, to preach and lecture in it with lucidity and dignity, to command the wide range of Chinese literature, and to expound to students and scholars with exactitude and accuracy, and yet further to write in it with any degree of efficiency or elegance is a stupendous task. For the man of average powers to speak Chinese well and fluently is difficult, to read its masterpieces of religion, philosophy, and history is more than difficult, it is most arduous; while to write its characters freely, and compose in them with any pretence to style, is wellnigh impossible, an accomplishment attained only by the gifted few.

For all literary purposes the language is one and

the same throughout the whole length and breadth of the Empire. Its words, monosyllabic and ideographic (commonly called characters) are made up of what were once hieroglyphs, but by many succeeding generations of scholars have been modified into symbols, wonderful and fascinating in their suggestiveness, but retaining only occasional traces and vestiges of their original picture character. They are very numerous, some 40,000 in all, though 4,000 or 5,000 is a sufficient scholarly equipment. There is no alphabet, the syllable is the unit, what are called radicals (214) and phonetics (over 4,000) functioning in quite a different way, and consequently there is almost no mnemonic key to their pronunciation. The meaning, or meanings, of each one must be learnt and remembered separately, the sound of each one must be learnt and remembered separately. If there were a *different* sound for each character this would be comparatively easy, but the total number of different sounds is only about 420 (Max Müller says 450, but not all of these are ever used in any one locality), and, consequently, the language is burdened with an enormous number of homophones. A large proportion of the 420 sounds in use are relatively free from homophones, but this only increases the number which the remaining sounds have to carry, and such sounds as *í*, *chi*, *shih*, *fu*, *li*, *yueh* and *yü* have an enormous number, some of them over 100. *Chi* has at least 150. This is to some extent relieved by the use of *tones*, intonations or inflexions which leave the sound unchanged (so that if we spelt it in English letters the *spelling* would remain the same), but which vary the manner in which it is uttered by the voice. Of these tones in the north, only four are made use of. In some southern dialects

there are as many as eight. The tone must also be remembered by a dead-lift of memory, just as the sound is. Let us try and convey some notion of the complexity and perplexity of this exercise by taking a simple English homophone, and imagining how its indefinite multiplication would embarrass an English speaker. *Pear*, *pair*, *pare*, are three words with the same sound, they are homophones. As there are only three we find no particular difficulty. One is always a verb, and in any case when used in speech or read aloud the context helps to show which is meant. But suppose that instead of two p—r's (spell how you like) we had thirty or sixty, or even 100, some degree of confusion would be apt to occur. And suppose that instead of this being the case with some few sounds, quite half of the sounds had a large number of homophones, the confusion would be still greater, and we should begin to have an idea of what it was like at Babel. Suppose, again, that with a commendable desire to lessen the confusion we should come to a mutual understanding to pronounce some of these very numerous *pears* or *pairs* or *pare*s with an even voice, others with a falling inflexion, others again with a rising inflexion, and others yet again with a short, jerky utterance in whatever connection we might use them. We should see at once that we had scarcely mended the matter, that, in fact, we were engaged upon two towers in close proximity to each other, and that one set of Babel-onians had got mixed up with another set of Babel-onians. At any rate, that is the effect on the *foreign* student. The Chinaman is as expert in differentiating the tones as in differentiating the sounds, and, of course, to anyone they *are* helpful when mastered, but the bitterness comes in the mastering of them. The



G. T. Candlin.

Chinaman does not spell his words, and he intuitively hears two different tones as different; he never thinks of their sameness of sound at all. We cannot help doing so. Let us be as clear as we can, and not make the matter appear worse than it is. It is not *very* bad for the *eye*. The chis are different words with a different meaning, *and all written differently*.

給, 集, 鷄, 幾, 既, 祭, 際

and so on to the 150th. But they are all *chi* in sound, the burden is for the ear and the memory. Even this is not all, but a large number of these homophones are separated only by an aspirate—which we write, when expressing it in English, thus '—from another large group of homophones. Thus *chi*, pronounced not quite like the letter *g*, has a group of ninety odd Babelonian relations, which we render for English readers *ch'i*, pronounced as a Scotchman would pronounce the first half of the word *cheat*—more than ninety new words with new meanings, the tones, of course, all mixed in again, separated by only a slight difference of sound from the 150 chis.

If now we raise the question, How did the Chinese language come to possess so excessive a number of homophones—by what process did they grow up? it will perhaps help us to understand a little more of the structure of the language. And the simplest answer to this question is, perhaps, that it was due to the love of monosyllables. Every language can be traced back to a comparatively small number of roots, and perhaps, for simplicity's sake, we may assume that the 420 or 450 sound syllables already referred to were

the roots, the only words which in that early and barbaric age they made use of. Of course, they existed for ages as sounds only, long before there was any method of writing them. In fact, the affinities between sound and sound, such as *ching*, *ch'ing*, *ling*, *ming*, *shing*, *ting*, *ying*; or, *chang*, *ch'ang*, *cheng*, *ch'eng*, *chung*, *ch'ung*, *lung*, *nung*, *sung*, *tung*, *yung* go to show that during the stage when they were sounds only, even this limited number had grown, by the law of variation, out of an exceedingly small number indeed. Be this as it may, the advance of civilization soon demanded the creation of new words to express new thoughts and new shades of thought. As soon as writing was invented this process was greatly accelerated. The natural way to do this was by agglutination, the putting two of them together to make a third. This at once opened up an infinite series of combinations, because not only could each one be combined with every other in turn, but when that was done the new combinations could be treated in the same way, coupling not only with each other, but also as new powers with each of the original sounds. The Chinaman formed his characters in this way so far as *writing* was concerned, much as we add two syllables together to make one word, only he did it in a more artistic manner; for, whereas we simply write them in a string, one after the other, when he had to add one to another he wrote it on the right or on the left, above or below, or right in the middle, his motive apparently being to make the new character as picturesque-looking as possible. Accordingly he has, beyond all dispute, the most beautiful looking characters in the world. His words are no longer hieroglyphs, but they are still pictures. Accordingly he takes delight in hanging them on the

walls of his room for ornament, and he is the most wonderful of caligraphists.

But now here is where the Chinaman took an entirely different path from the rest of us. When it came to the pronunciation of the new compounds he remained a slave to the monosyllabic idea. Instead of pronouncing both sounds, as well as writing both signs, *he took only one of them* as the sound of the character, and, however many combinations he made, pursued this plan unswervingly. His characters might be described as polysyllables to the eye, but monosyllables to the ear. It was as though in English we should *write* *pare, pair, prepare, repair, compare, impair, despair*, yet pronounce them all alike—*pair*.

In the written language this is confusing enough, because we have to have a sound in our mind even when reading silently, but when we come to the spoken language the confusion is far greater. To make himself intelligible the Chinaman has to rely very much on the tones, to which his ear is very acute, while that of the foreigner is usually dull. But this is not sufficient, and, therefore, he has to also resort to the device of coupling synonyms together in his speech to make it clear which of several homophones is to be understood. The use of these coupled synonyms is the most noticeable feature of the Mandarin dialect. Whilst coupled in this way they are not joined *as syllables*, but remain monosyllabic words, retaining their full meaning, and capable of being used singly wherever they are intelligible to the ear. But *in part* they function very much as polysyllables, or rather as duo-syllables. Hence the statement is sometimes made that while the literary language is monosyllabic, the spoken language is polysyllabic. In a modified sense this is

true. That which the Chinaman refused to do in forming his words for literary use, he was compelled to do in a measure in his daily speech.

But this in itself introduced another very important factor. Writing style and speaking style drifted farther and farther apart, until their structure and idiom differed so greatly as to assume almost the aspect of two different languages, which have to be separately learnt. The words used are the same, except that very many forms are current in literature which are not used in speech, and some used in speech cannot be used in writing. The *meanings* of the principal words are substantially the same, but different sets of particles are used, and the idiom and syntax differ so much that the student, who has learnt colloquial speech only, when confronted with a page of literature, finds himself in the singular position that while he is familiar enough with the words, and their separate meanings, he is yet quite unable to construe the sentences before him. In this way have come about the wide differences between Wenli (i.e., literary style), and Mandarin (i.e., official speech). In the north Mandarin is the speech of the people, and, indeed, it is spoken in fourteen out of the eighteen provinces. In other places a local dialect takes the place of Mandarin. As we have said, the literary style is universally the same, so that if a Cantonese gentleman wished to write a letter to a friend in any other part of China than Canton it would be in every respect the same as a letter from a Mandarin-speaking province. Yet if these two friends met to converse they would be as much unable to understand each other's speech as a Frenchman and an Englishman. We have even heard of a case in which they fell back upon "pidgin-English." So that learning

Chinese is practically learning two languages instead of one.

To this difficult language Mr. Innocent, from the beginning, applied himself with a will. While still in Shanghai he had secured a Mandarin teacher, and it divided his attention with the study of the Shanghai dialect. The latter he never really learnt. But as soon as he got to Tientsin he discarded it altogether, and gave himself entirely to Mandarin. He had no special aptitude for linguistic study, but he was endowed with a tough quality of perseverance, and what he lacked in gift he made up for by assiduity. Repeated entries in his journal show the determination and patience with which he applied himself. "Spent most of the day in the study of Chinese with new teacher." "Studied Chinese with teacher six hours." "Studying hard." Such entries are very common.

Neither of the two brethren found Chinese a holiday pastime. In "Consecrated Enthusiasm," Dr. Stacey speaks of Mr. Hall as having, "no special aptitude or faculty, . . . notwithstanding great fluency in the use of his own tongue was one of his most marked characteristics. He was not likely, however, to fail in the measure of proficiency required for the right and full discharge of his accepted duties. His strong and almost passionate desire to speak to the people in their own language 'all the words of this Life,' was sufficient motive for the diligence that never stops short of ultimate success. And thus diligent he was, and thus, therefore, successful." This was certainly reasoning *a priori*, which, to be sure, was all that was open to the doctor. But *a priori* reasoning is risky in such a case, and those who have been more behind the scenes will relish better Mr. Hall's own modest esti-

mate of his achievement. "I shall never be anything but a stammerer in the language of the people, but if grace be given me, I will stammer as well as I can to the end of my days for their eternal good." Perhaps no one ever contrived to make so little go so far as Mr. Hall. Through all defects he contrived to make his magnetic personality tell, but those who were most sensible to its influence testify that there was "much that he meant but could not express."

Mr. Innocent, it may be, had scarcely more natural aptitude for language study than Mr. Hall, but was much more of the systematic student. Up to the time of the Boxer outbreak the lesson books were extant on the Mission, the margins of which witnessed to his steady and plodding application. "Keep pegging away" was the advice of a great sinologue to Dr. Mackenzie, which made most impression on him. Mr. Innocent kept pegging away, and with good result. He varied the ordinary grind by attempting the translation, with the help of his teacher, of various little handbooks, catechisms, calendars, lists of Scripture lessons, which would be useful to him in his work. He memorized his hymns that he might be able to sing them, and to teach the Chinese to sing them. There was no "course of study" in those days, he had to set his own course. But men may get through a fairly elaborate course of study, and be poor Chinese speakers at the end, and there can scarcely be a more satisfactory proof of solid progress than the fact that about twelve months after his arrival in Tientsin he was prepared to conduct a service and preach in Chinese by himself. A few, specially apt, have done it in less time; few do it, to much effect, in more than double the time.

In our opinion, though all will not endorse this, Mr. Innocent lost nothing in the prosecution of his studies, by the fact that he was compelled to do some work from the beginning, or by the various journeys he made, which must have interfered with his regular book studies. "To learn and *constantly to practise*, is it not pleasant?" is the first verse in the Confucian Analects, a maxim true of all learning, but peculiarly true of learning a language you mean to speak in. To learn to speak you must speak, and the sooner you begin the better. The longer you put it off, like taking a cold plunge, the more nervous you get about it. You cannot learn to swim without going into the water. It is a positive hindrance to carry about a heap of words and phrases which you know, yet don't know to any purpose, because you do not dare to use them. Hurl them out, or they will close your mouth as close as lock-jaw. The man who has been memorizing hard for two years without making much attempt to speak may dream of a happy day when the flood-gates will burst open, but will find that he is in a less favourable mood for speaking than he was twelve months ago. There are two proverbs specially true of learning to speak a language, "necessity is the mother of invention," and "necessity knows no law." The best of all ways to make a man learn to speak Chinese is to put him in a tight place, where he cannot get out of speaking—where he cannot get his breakfast or his bath, or have his bed made, or his shoes blacked, or find his way on a lost road without asking in Chinese. It is astonishing how soon you do it when, like Yellow Dog Dingo, you "have to."

Those little conversations on the city wall with the first stranger who came up, the exigencies of travelling

experience, the catechizing of his school boys were worth a great many hours stammering over books with a teacher who has learnt to detect your meaning in spite of most atrocious mistakes, and though your Chinese would be Greek to the peasant in the field, or the city stroller on the street. When you are forcibly impressed with the fact that everybody round you speaks his own language abominably except your personal teacher, while nobody seems to understand what you say, though it is according to Wade or Mateer, and you are sure the tones are correct, it is time to leave "Mandarin Lessons," or "Tzü Erh Chi," on the table, forget all about the tones, and try a bit of raw and rude common speech, not arranged for your benefit, but fresh and living in the home or on the street.

To this cause, more than to any other, that he was forced to speak and to listen under natural conditions, we ascribe Mr. Innocent's simplicity and clearness in the use of Chinese. He spoke naturally and easily (his speech was always deliberate even in English); he could say with moderate correctness all he wanted to, and was always easily understood. This was equally true whether he was engaged in conversation, or addressing an assembly. Some missionaries are understood by the regular members of their congregation, who get acquainted with their foreign idioms, and are more or less familiar with the phraseology of Christian teaching, but are not easy to follow by outsiders. Mr. Innocent was understood by both. Foreigners found him easier to follow than a Chinaman, though this, perhaps, is not praise.

Apart from the beaten track of speech, Mr. Innocent's knowledge of Chinese was not profound. He did not rank amongst Chinese sinologues, and though

in the earlier years he had read with great diligence, his acquaintance with the written character was somewhat slender, and he had not the verbal memory which alone could give him command of the wide range of Chinese literature. Against this must be set, however, his thorough knowledge of the country, its manners and customs, and the character of the people he worked among. In this direction he excelled. It was inevitable that one whose hands were so full from the beginning with actual, practical work, should be less of a book scholar than is, no doubt, desirable.

He was fortunate in his teacher. In Shanghai he had been taught by Mr. Hu's son. But on coming to Tientsin he engaged the services of Ting Hsin P'ei, a resident of Tientsin, and a typical specimen of the gentlemanly Tientsinner. At the time of his engagement Ting was not a Christian, but he speedily became interested in Christian truth, and was one of our earliest converts. He was baptized along with Wang Yi Hua in 1862. There was a good deal of hesitancy in receiving him, unnecessary hesitancy, as it seems to us. It so happened that about this time his father had died. The family were none of them Christians except Ting. They naturally wished the funeral to take place with the usual Confucian rites. Such rites can scarcely be described as idolatrous, though they were not desirable from the Christian point of view. Mr. Innocent thought Ting should have forbidden them. Ting does not seem to have behaved badly. He did his best to persuade the family to forgo them, but they were obdurate. The funeral took place in the old way, and for this Ting was severely admonished, and his baptism postponed. Poor fellow! Our sympathies are with Ting. Considering what Chinese family traditions are, the

situation was a most difficult and delicate one. Perhaps the high, heroic way would have been "not peace, but a sword," yet we doubt if any good would have been done by *forcing* a Christian funeral on an unchristian family. However, he was baptized later, and the step was amply justified by his subsequent career. After being Mr. Innocent's teacher for some years he became a preacher. Though shallow in thought he was an eloquent preacher, and did excellent work as our preacher in charge of Kung Pei for many years. He resigned work in 1886, and went as personal teacher to a gentleman in the Customs at Taku, where he rendered us excellent service as a voluntary preacher. He died at Tientsin in 1896 at the age of seventy-three.

But what a teacher Ting Hsin P'ei was to have about you! In those early days he was in the prime of life, well made, somewhat handsome, with a long silky moustache of which he was not a little proud. He was always something of a dandy, very particular about his dress, and elegant in his deportment. He really spoke the Tientsin dialect, though he affected a Peking accent. But to hear him converse of Chinese forms of politeness, and explain conversational elegances, or go through his scales with the Chinese tones! These things were an education in Chinese, apart from the lessons you studied with him. His pronunciation was simply exquisite, no man could imagine Chinese a difficult language to speak when he heard Ting speaking it, so smooth, so flowing, so precise. Can our readers imagine the difference between *hsin* and *shin*? We trow not: *shin* we know, but what is *hsin*? But when Ting uttered them he made you thoroughly ashamed of ever having for an instant confounded them. He was the beau-ideal of Chinese pundits.

CHAPTER XI.

THE FOUNDING OF AN ENGLISH CHURCH.

UNION CHURCH, Tientsin, as its name implies, was designed to meet the needs of English, American or European worshippers resident in the settlements at Tientsin. Beyond being a Protestant Church it has no denominational character. For years it was the only Protestant place of worship for white men. It included many members of the Church of England in its congregation, the book of Common Prayer was used at the morning service, and many Church of England clergymen and Bishops have preached from its pulpit. But in 1890 an Anglican Church was opened which drew away the greater portion of its Church of England members. Four years ago, that is in 1904, for the first time in its history, it called a regular pastor to its pulpit. Up to that time the pulpit was supplied, and its pastoral duties discharged, by English and American missionaries resident in Tientsin, acting in concert. As they required no remuneration the church was worked on a very economical basis. No church ever worked more harmoniously, and it has been, therefore, a beautiful object-lesson in Christian unity, both in its fellowship and its service. Every Christian man in Tientsin, and most of those who do not profess Christianity, would gratefully acknowledge its inestimable value to the community.

The church has had an interesting history, and as its history has been closely associated in its origin with

our mission is North China, it falls to be noticed in a short chapter.

The history of Union Church dates back to the time when, as has been already related, services were commenced at the city in the *Niang Niang Kung*, "The Palace of our Lady" (the Chinese Aphrodite) chiefly for the benefit of the British soldiers, who at one time numbered 3,000, and who, together with the French, were in occupation of Tientsin in 1860-2. The few foreign residents of the newly-opened port, including the missionaries, who conducted worship, attended these services. When the soldiers were withdrawn the congregation was much reduced. About this time, also, the British Concession was opened, and residents began to move from the city to the Concession, a distance of two miles. The congregation became a divided one, some continuing to worship in the morning in the city, others in the evening in the missionary houses newly built *near to* the Concession.

Gradually the city congregation diminished, and a place was found in a temple at Tzü Chu Lin (the Concession) known as the Tê chô hang, and nicknamed by foreigners the "Charing Cross Temple," but this had to be given up, and the services were held chiefly in the house of the Rev. J. Lees, of the London Mission. The need of a suitable building was very strongly felt, and a movement was commenced for the building of a church. Into this movement our missionaries threw themselves with characteristic enterprise. The first thing to do was to select a site, and as the land newly acquired (1862) by the mission, close to the settlement, was not all required for their houses they volunteered to allow the church to be built on it. The Committee appointed to carry out the scheme accepted the offer.



The Old Union Church, Tientsin.



The next thing to do was to start a subscription list, in order to raise funds for the building. Of this list Mr. Innocent and Mr. Hall took charge. Money was subscribed from various quarters, and the response was soon seen to be such as to justify them in commencing building operations. Sir Robert Hart, the British Consul, the various merchants in the town, the merchant ships accustomed to visit the port, all subscribed, and about \$1,300, at that time equivalent to about £420, was collected after a very strenuous canvass.

Plans were made, really quite ambitious for that "day of small things." They were determined on having a large church, it was to be 38 feet long by 22 feet wide, Chinese feet (half an inch longer than the English foot), and inside measurement. It was to have a porch and a bell-tower, including a bell. The tower stands about 45 feet high. The style of architecture was Gothic. There was no one in Tientsin capable of erecting so important an edifice, and the services of a Shanghai architect were secured. "Old Union Chapel," as it is now called, is still a fairly conspicuous, and not unattractive building, though many very much larger and more impressive buildings stand near it, but at that time it must have greatly rejoiced the hearts of those who were eager to worship in it. One still catches distinctly the mild glow with which Mr. Innocent describes it on the occasion of its opening. That auspicious event took place August 14th, 1864.

"We had the joy of seeing our beautiful, new English church completed and opened for public worship. Towards its cost, the foreign residents and captains and crews of trading vessels to the port liberally subscribed. It meets a great want and is the first and only church, for our countrymen, built in North China.

With its tower, it is a prominent figure in the landscape, and the first foreign building that meets the gaze of those who come up the river on board the ships and steamers from the sea. To our countrymen, whether officials, merchants or seamen, as to our missionary families, it is a comfortable resort in which the worship of God is conducted in our own language. And greatly is it appreciated by all. As from the opening of the port the missionaries have voluntarily conducted service, they continue to do so in this new structure."

Tientsin has changed. It is quite invisible from the river nowadays.

When all was finished there was a debt of £150. The total cost was about £500. In a letter dated the 30th of May, Mr. Innocent sent to the Rev. S. Hulme a copy of the subscription list, accompanied by an appeal to the Committee for a grant of the amount deficient, which was sanctioned. As a result of this grant from the mission funds, and in view of the fact that the building stood on mission land, and that the funds had been collected by the missionaries, it was decided, by a Committee of Management, which met at the British Consulate shortly afterwards, that when in future a new church should be erected for the community on the Concession the present building should become the property of the mission. This arrangement was effected thirty-two years later, after the building of New Union Church, and on July 5th, 1896, "Old Union Church" was opened for Chinese service. It is still in a fair state of preservation, and has become the chapel of the Training Institute. A beautiful tablet in memory of Mr. Hall, and a second in memory of Mr. Williamson, a member of the L.M.S., who was killed while travelling on the Grand Canal with Mr.

Hodge, stand on the left and right of the entrance. In "Consecrated Enthusiasm" this venerated building is curiously confused with "Ku Lou Pei." This is an error. Ku Lou Pei was always a Chinese Christian preaching hall, never a foreign church, and never the property of the Mission. An Anglican Church was opened in Tientsin in 1890. Union Church was thus the only Protestant Church in North China for English worshippers during a period of twenty-six years. All this time the missionaries and their families constituted fully one-half of the congregation, and much more than half of the church-membership. Apart from the advantages of worship, it was of special value to them as a rallying point uniting them together in a common work, and strengthening greatly the bonds of union between the several missions. In connection with it a Missionary Association was formed which turned out to be an admirable Committee of concerted action in their mission work. The work of supplying the pulpit was their sole opportunity of keeping in practice as English preachers. The congregation was necessarily a very mixed one, Consuls, Customs' Officers, medical agents, merchants, sailors, travellers, missionaries; and a very changeable one, for in a port like Tientsin changes are very frequent, missionaries being almost the only permanent residents. It has always been a congregation of a high level of intelligence, very appreciative of anything possessing intellectual force, not to be won by mere fervour or enthusiasm, but by no means cold or unsympathetic—a congregation not to be faced with impunity without adequate preparation. To take regular turn in the service of its pulpit was a discipline which any preacher might covet. The pulpit was as variable as the pew, for not only was it supplied by the

missionaries of different Denominations, and of very varying types of mind, but it was from the beginning the practice to invite to its duties any who might be visitors, or birds of passage, and in this way Bishops of the Church of England, Bishops of American Churches, deputations from various Mission Boards, and other distinguished strangers have conducted its services.

The decade from 1890 to 1900 was a period of remarkable expansion in the growth of the port, and notwithstanding the opening of an Anglican Church, it was manifest that the old church was much too small for the congregation. What is known as the British Extra Concession was opened, and new residences sprang up very rapidly on what had all through the eighties been little more than a desolate mud-flat. In short, it became Tientsin's "West End." A new site was purchased in this neighbourhood, and in 1896 a much larger church was erected, capable of seating more than double the previous building. The new building is a handsome Gothic structure, with a tall spire, and is known as "New Union Church." For awhile it continued to depend upon the missionary body for the conduct of its services, when it began to be felt that the time had arrived for calling a regular pastor. In 1904, the Rev. Miller Graham was called to be its first pastor, and in 1907 he was succeeded by the Rev. J. S. Griffith. It has a good congregation of well-to-do people, it is entirely self-supporting, and bids fair to be a prospering and flourishing Church in a rapidly-growing community.

Of course, Union Church is not, and from the beginning was never intended to be, in any sense a Methodist Church. In its government and discipline it much more resembles the Congregational type, though



The New Union Church, Tientsin.



that is not due to conscious design, but simply to the fact that that form of organization more readily adapts itself to the circumstances in which it has grown up. Its first pastor was a Presbyterian, Mr. Griffith is Congregational, its next will probably be chosen with absolute indifference to his ecclesiastical complexion. Free to call whom it will, it will consider only the needs of its congregation. But here again Congregationalism *tells*, for when a Congregationalist is called there is no one to consult but the man himself. Still the church remains catholic and unsectarian, yet sound in doctrine and evangelical in spirit ; a church to which any Free Churchman might be proud to belong, and in many respects a sample (Tientsin missionaries are vain enough to think) of the Union Church which is wanted elsewhere.

From that first Sunday in Tientsin, three days after his arrival on the 7th of April, 1861, when he entered in his diary, "preached to the English in the evening," until his final return to England in 1897, Mr. Innocent was one of its most acceptable ministers. He enjoyed the unique distinction of acting for some years as its pastor, the pulpit duties, however, remaining unchanged. No further appointment was made until the call of Mr. Graham. But this memoir would not be complete, nor the story of our mission rightly told without the record of the part which he, together with Mr. Hall, and all his subsequent colleagues in their degree, took in its formation and establishment.

CHAPTER XII.

EXPLORING AND EVANGELISTIC TOURS.

It is significant of the breadth and scope of Mr. Innocent's mind that from the earliest beginning of his missionary work, he never once entertained a conception of it as a scheme for founding a city mission. Tientsin had been occupied, as we have seen, with conspicuous success. It was an admirable centre, but only a centre. His objective from the first was North China. Tientsin was but the fulcrum from which he must work his lever, and his mind was always reaching out towards the country around him, and even to "regions beyond." Hence the numerous, and arduous, in some respects perilous, journeys taken during the earlier years of his residence, which must have been no small tax on his time and his strength. He soon discovered that the vast field to be occupied was far beyond the resources of our own Missionary Society, but this was the less to be deplored as agents from other societies, both English and American, were soon forthcoming to thrust in the sickle where "fields white unto harvest" were far beyond his reach. We cannot enter into the details of any of these journeys, but some brief notice of them is a necessity.

Though explorers like Marco Polo, Abbé Huc, and other Roman Catholic fathers had been over the ground long before, yet in the sixties, to the merchant and the missionary North China was almost an unknown land. No better illustration of this circumstance can be found

than the fact that to this day the best-known English newspaper in China is still called the "North China Daily News," though, from the first, published in Shanghai. At best, Shanghai pertains to Central China, but the name assumed indicates that Shanghai was as far north as the general thought respecting China had got. Quite in harmony with this is the fact that the current popular conception of the country and its people—their features, customs and industries, and the pictures and descriptions one oftenest encounters in England are almost exclusively southern. The round faces and somewhat delicate features, the rather feeble-looking bodies, these are characteristically Cantonese. Our northerners are, on the whole, strong and burly, rough-faced and dark-skinned. The tropical climate and sultry skies are southern. Our summer is indeed burning hot, but the winter is fierce and far more intensely cold than in any part of Great Britain. Above all the agricultural products most characteristic in the popular imagination all pertain to the south—the bamboo, the orange groves, the banana, the rice fields, the tea plantations. Though we have lived in China thirty years, the only time we ever saw tea growing was in the distance from the deck of a steamer lying in Fuchow Harbour. The trees might have been elder bushes for all that we could make out. It is as much a foreign product, and as dear, in North China as in England. Ordinary rice, such as is made into puddings in England, is not grown in the North, and only rarely eaten except by the well-to-do. The bamboo and the orange are diminutive, hot-house shrubs. To the North belong the tall kaoliang, sago-like millet, Indian corn, the yam and the monkey-nut, walnuts, peaches, apricots and grapes, admirable products, indeed, but probably

not at all suggestive of China to the Western mind. The only thing grown here that is ideally Chinese is the opium poppy. *Our* China is quite different from the China of the popular imagination.

Yet *our* China is at least a part of the real China, the China of history, and of tradition. Shantung is included in the great plain where the *Ch'in's*, from whom the very name China is supposed to have been derived, first made their advent. With it are associated the greatest names of China's greatest past. The famous dynasties of Chow and Han held sway here, when north of the Great Wall and west of the Yangtze were foreign lands populated with people of foreign speech. Yao and Shun, the semi-mythic monarchs of China's golden age, were both Shantung men. The sages, who were greater than kings, who have stamped their minds on the Empire with indelible impress, and are its purest glory, Confucius, Mencius, Tseng Tzü, Yen Hui, were all Shantung men. From Wuting or Lao Ling to the tomb of Confucius—China's age-enduring but uncrowned king—is an easy journey.

The ordinary way of travelling is by mule cart. A mule cart is never seen in the south. Such tours as Mr. Innocent made would generally mean a month at a stretch, forty miles a day the maximum rate of progress, and to make that you must be twelve hours on the road. And what roads! They are probably the roughest in the world. Macadam never ventured into China until recent years. The inns are marvels of discomfort. You can get nothing there that you want, not always even a welcome.

The traveller finds himself in an empty mud room, with a thatched roof, brown mud walls, a mud floor, paper windows, a table so rickety it has to lean against

the wall to stand up, and so dirt-begrimed that no decent housewife would risk a table cloth on it. You are lucky if you find a single chair, yet not lucky, for it is the most comfortless seat ever invented. For bed (in the same room) you are offered a solid mud structure (very hard) with a coarse straw-plaited mat, generally badly worn into holes. That is all the accommodation you get. You pay about twopence, and barely get your money's worth. You must carry everything, food, bedding, (bed if you are wise), cook and cooking apparatus. The foreign traveller inevitably excites a tremendous amount of curiosity, and is generally beset in the streets by a regular crowd of gazers, who troop after him into the inns, and flood his room (if he will let them), watching his every movement with the utmost avidity, and when they can do it with impunity are apt to assail him with unlovely epithets—"foreign devil," and "long-haired rebel," being the most common. It is obvious that under such circumstances travelling is rough work.

Good evangelizing work can be done in this way. You usually carry a supply of Scriptures and tracts which the people are generally willing to take from you, and you have but to stand still *anywhere*, and your congregation, a very promiscuous one, will assemble around you with the speed of magic. The mere fact that a foreigner can speak Chinese ingratiates them at once, and they will generally listen with a degree of attention and respect. The measure of comprehension you can secure is a more doubtful quantity, but this depends greatly on the man. Their mind is, of course, an absolute blank as concerns the message you have to deliver. You cannot assume that they know they are sinners, or that they know there is a

God whom they should worship. Better assume the exact opposite, and take it that these are the things you have to convince them of. The golden key to the gateway of their comprehension is a working familiarity with their own religious beliefs and practices. Quote Confucius and you will be on common ground with them at once.

The evangelistic duties of these exploring tours Mr. Innocent took most seriously. In his journal, giving the record of his journey to Paoting and T'ai-yuan in 1862, he inserts the following query:—

“In mission tours is it not desirable to be satisfied with a slow mode of travelling, employ the cheapest means for conveying books, take a native helper along with you, and *walk* from village to village on the way, and thoroughly publish the Gospel in one place before going on to another?”

This seems to have been almost the only kind of mission work, except the translation of hymns, Scriptures and tracts in which the sainted missionary Burns ever engaged, and the chief work of Mr. Gilmour “among the Mongols,” a persistent and faithful sowing of the seed, leaving the result to take care of itself.

And Mr. Innocent displayed great tact and ability in the prosecution of such work. He knew how to be patient with a crowd. He was not naturally a witty man, but he always had a quiet, gentle vein of humour for use on such occasions. He knew how to begin where he was sure of taking hold, and was ready at all moments to throw down the bridge which in the easiest manner possible led from common conversation to earnest exhortation. One of the occasions when we saw him to the greatest advantage, and unfeignedly admired him was, when travelling together, we had

entered a village, and a company had collected around us, some of the younger members of which did not seem to be too civil. A forward young whipper-snapper of about seventeen, who had pushed himself to the front of the crowd, assailed the good veteran (as he then was) in a somewhat impertinent manner with the usual question: "When did you come over to our country?" Mr. Innocent measured him from head to foot with his eye, and with a scarcely perceptible twinkle, and an indulgent smile, replied: "I came before you did." The bystanders thoroughly enjoyed it; the young man blushed and took a back position in the circle. Mr. Innocent then scratched the character "great" on the ground with his walking-stick. It raised him 50 per cent in their estimation to see he could write. As a matter of fact he could not write Chinese, but that was of no consequence. Calling their attention to it, he next scored across the top of it the character "one," thus making "Heaven," the *one great*. As in English, and even more clearly, "*Heaven*" bears the sense of God, and with this as his text he plunged straight into an exposition of the greatness, the unity, the spirituality of God which was listened to with reverent attention.

He took somewhat extensive notes of these mission tours, of which the following are the chief:—

I. A visit to Paoting Fu accompanied by Dr. Edkins during the month of October, 1861. Paoting is an important town, about 400 li west of Tientsin. Up to the present it has been, in fact, the provincial capital of Chihli, but this capital is just now (1908) being moved to Tientsin. It was an interesting tour.

II. A visit to the Great Wall of China at Ku Pei K'ou in December, 1861. The principal object of this

visit was Bible distribution. The Great Wall of China ranks among the wonders of the world, and the following description of it, culled by Mr. Innocent, from an early work by Sir John Davis on China, brings its chief features into an account brief enough for quotation here:—

“The Great Wall is a monument of an iron will and a cruel despotism. It was built by the Emperor Ch'in Ssu Huang. He destroyed the feudal system of the days of Confucius and established the first despotic and universal monarchy of China. He sought to obliterate all history of his predecessors by ordering that all books should be burnt. He did a better and more lasting thing by establishing the *Fu* (departmental) and *Hsien* (district) cities, with their magistrates appointed direct from the metropolis, a system which is still a vital part of the Chinese government.

“This remarkable wall is 1,500 miles long extending from the shore of the Gulf of Chihli to Hsi-ning, fifteen degrees west of the capital. It is carried over some of the highest mountain peaks. One of the most elevated ridges over which the Great Wall passes measures 5,225 feet high.

“The height of the Wall is 25 feet, its thickness 25 feet at the base, and 15 at the top. There are towers at regular intervals, 40 feet square at the base, diminishing to 30 feet at the top, and measuring, some 37 feet, some 48 feet high. No wood is found in these towers. All solid arches of strong masonry for doors and windows. The bricks are 15 inches long, half that in width and four inches thick. Beyond, or west, of the Yellow River it is only a mound of earth, or gravel, 15 feet high.

“It is said that every third man in the Empire was

drafted to assist in its building; that being scantily supplied with food 400,000 died of hunger, ill-usage and excessive fatigue. The Chinese say it was the annihilation of one generation and the salvation of a thousand. Du Halde says it was built in *five years*. Herodotus says 100,000 men were employed twenty years to build the largest of the Egyptian Pyramids."

The Great Wall may be regarded as the boundary of our mission on the north, and is not many miles distant from Yung P'ing City.

III. A tour through T'ai Yuan Fu (the capital of Shansi) and Kalgan (beyond the Wall) in February and March, 1862. On this journey he was accompanied by the Rev. H. Blodget. It was a long and interesting journey, and a full journal of it was drawn up by Mr. Innocent with more than usual care. Both these places are now connected with Tientsin by railway. The new and shorter route of the Trans-Siberian Railway will shortly open, and connect with Kalgan.

IV. An interesting trip to Peking accompanied by Mrs. Innocent and Mrs. Wright, in April, 1862.

V. A visit to Jenchiu, a district city about sixty miles south-west of Tientsin. This visit made so favourable an impression upon Mr. Innocent that an attempt was made to start work there. Mr. Hu and others were sent to reside there, preach and sell Scriptures, with a view to opening a station, but results did not seem to justify the continuance of the work. This first visit was in March, 1863.

VI. A very interesting trip into Mongolia, accompanied by Mr. Henderson, a Tientsin merchant. Their objective was the famous Lama Miao, a College and Monastery of the Tantra school of Buddhism, which prevails among the Mongols. This journey was com-

menced shortly after the return from Jenchiu, on the 13th of May, 1863. Mr. Innocent went well provided with Scriptures in the Mongol language. The Monastery is situated in Inner Mongolia, about 250 miles from Peking, and 330 miles from Tientsin.

VII. An account of a visit to the large Buddhist monastery of the Mahayana school of Buddhism, on which Mr. Innocent was accompanied by Mr. Hall. The story gives an excellent picture of the interior life of the monastery, and illustrates the nature of Buddhist worship in China, with the superstitions attaching to it. The visit was paid in February, 1864.

VIII. A journey out to Chinan fu, the capital of Shantung, accompanied by the Rev. J. Lees, L.M.S., undertaken in May, 1868. Mr. Hodge was at the time visiting our Shantung stations, and as accounts had come in of the rise of a singular rebellion, which was sweeping the whole district, the origin and objects of which were very obscure, they were concerned for his safety, and their journey was of the nature of a relief expedition. They themselves fell into the hands of these banditti, for they appear to have been little else, and Mr. Lees had his horse stolen. The rebels were known as the "Nien Fei," their numbers were reported as consisting of 60,000 or 70,000, and the wildest stories were current of their lawless doings.

In addition to the valuable evangelistic work done on these tours, the knowledge of the country and the general experience gained were a great advantage to Mr. Innocent. Except in the last instance there is no doubt he was keenly on the look-out for the possibility of openings for regular missionary effort, and the extension of his work to wider fields. In 1866 the long-sought opening came in a quite unexpected way, and was the beginning of a new epoch of activity.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CALL TO LAO LING.

THE events to be described in this chapter, seen from the missionary standpoint, are by far the most memorable in the history of the mission. They were narrated at the time as the "Wonderful work of God in Laoling." Mr. Innocent speaks of them as a "remarkable religious awakening." The story, as told at the time, by those fresh from the glowing experience of it, was so full of marvel as to border on the miraculous. Not only were our two missionaries greatly elated (it threw Mr. Hall into transports of rapture), and not only was the "Missionary Report" for 1867 full to overflowing with its wonders, but its publication in the "Shanghai Missionary Recorder," profoundly moved the whole missionary body in China, and turned the thoughts of missionaries, as they had never been turned before, to the marvellous possibilities of evangelism in the interior of China. With these events began a new epoch of enthusiastic labour. An extended account of them is given in "Consecrated Enthusiasm," and they are also admirably summarized by Mr. Hedley in "Our Mission in China." The immediate result was an enlargement of our mission work with which the most strenuous exertions could scarcely keep pace, and an increase in membership, within one year, amounting to more than treble our previous numbers. Nor did it stop here, but this rapid growth was followed year by year with very substantial increase. In 1866 our total membership

was 24, with 7 probationers. In 1867 it was 85, with 23 probationers. In 1870, the year of Mr. Innocent's return to England, it was 204, with 80 probationers, a tenfold increase within four years. By the end of 1877, a few months before Mr. Hall's death (Report, 1878), there were in Shantung alone 18 stations, 8 schools, 14 Chinese preachers, 636 church-members, and 425 probationers. All these came out of the story of a dream with its unfolding sequences in real life.

The story, in brief, is as follows. While Mr. Hall was preaching one afternoon in Kung Pei Chapel, early in the year 1866, "a stranger, stooping beneath the weight of years and infirmity," took his seat among the hearers. His manner attracted attention, and upon being questioned it was found that he came from a village in Shantung about 130 miles away. He stated that he was in search of saving truth, moved by a dream. He had been ill, and on two occasions he dreamt that he had come to the close of life. He fancied himself conducted "to an immense and beautiful place, where he saw a magnificent mansion guarded by beings of surpassing loveliness and purity." The "mansion," he could see through the doors, was filled with similar beings, and one in the midst was seated upon a throne before which all did homage, "whose glory resembled the brightness of the sun." He was not allowed to enter as he had not the "requisite attire." He was told to go back to earth where he would be taught what he must do to gain admission. The Roman Catholics were in his village, and he applied to them for guidance. What they told him decided him to embrace the Christian religion, but he was dissatisfied with their conduct, and determined to come to Tientsin to seek the heads of that Church. He was directed by mistake to our



Gateway of Chu Chia Village, Shantung.

chapel. In the preaching he listened to he thought he had found the solution of his twice-repeated dream. He stayed some time, and returned home with books promising to come again. A month later he returned reporting that many of his friends, together with himself, were anxious that a teacher should be sent to help them in studying the Bible.

This man's name was Chu Tien Chüan, afterwards known on the mission as "the Old Dreamer." The village was Chu Chia Tsai.

Mr. Innocent was away at the time, and it fell to Mr. Hall to decide what was to be done. He acted with commendable caution. Mr. Innocent's teacher, Mr. Yü, was sent to spend a week or two among them. He is spoken of as "a trustworthy man, free from any tendency to exaggeration," and he had instructions to see for himself how the case stood. The Dreamer took him to his home, would not hear of his going anywhere else. He held daily meetings with them, and came back full of enthusiasm. Two colporteurs were then sent to work for a month among the Dreamer's friends. On their return their report was still more encouraging. By this time Mr. Innocent had returned, and after consultation, it was decided to send Mr. and Mrs. Hu to work among them. As a number of women were interested in the truth, they felt assured that the presence of such a devoted woman would lead to the best results. A man of Mr. Hu's great sagacity and experience might be relied on to give such a report as would guide them with regard to future action. After a few week's residence at Chu Chia, Mr. Hu made such glowing communications, says Mr. Innocent, "that we were satisfied it was a genuine work of God, and a manifest call to us to enter the door which He had opened to us. After

due deliberation and prayer about the matter, we arranged that I should remain to carry on the work in Tientsin, and Mr. Hall proceed to Chu Chia. If he deemed it necessary he was to call on his colleague to join him." Mr. Hall went the first week in September. On the 11th, writing from Chu Chia, Mr. Hall sent to the Mission Secretary a most graphic account of the "awakening," which was published as a separate pamphlet. He *did* find it necessary for his colleague to join him, and within a week or two Mr. Innocent was there too.

Mr. Hall's account is given at great length in "Consecrated Enthusiasm." We do not reproduce it here, but our readers should certainly peruse that account. It shows the movement at white heat, shows how widespread it was, and shows Mr. Hall at his best, as one who had got into his natural element. The "Enthusiast" was simply delirious with joy. It was a veritable conflagration of spontaneous acceptance of the Gospel which warmed and spread until every one who went near it was set on fire. Mr. Hall revelled in it like a salamander. To his zeal-inflamed mind it was Tabor and Pisgah in one. Transfigured, spell-bound, he saw a "land of promise" fair and wide. Those two or three weeks were night-and-day work—a lovefeast to which the eager guests kept pouring in, all aglow with prayer and praise. Exhortation, and baptism—and the order of these holy exercises was of no account.

"Angels are hovering over this hallowed spot, and I almost catch their seraphic strains of triumph and of praise. I would not exchange my lot for that of any other person in the whole world. Jehovah, the Lord of hosts, is here. Jesus, the Prince of Glory, is here. The Divine and Eternal Spirit is here. All the glorious

promises are here; and here is the throne, the everlasting and ever-accessible throne of grace; and what can I want more? O glory be to God! Blessing and honour, and might, and dominion be unto Him for ever and ever."

That was Mr. Hall's state of mind.

That which wrought in him this passion of enthusiasm was the manifest religious upheaval taking place round him; which he saw with his eyes, which he heard with his ears. The entire village, men, women, and children almost, seemed to be coming *en masse* into the Church. They were meeting daily for prayer, keeping the Sabbath, meeting daily for Scripture study; though the great majority of them were unable to read, they were full of earnest desire for the Gospel. Scriptures and tracts, brought by the colporteurs, seemed to be in all their houses. They brought their idols, broke those that would break, burnt those that would burn, or handed them to the missionary as old curios. But not only so. The whole surrounding country seemed coming in. People walked long distances to come to the services, and at all hours (there was hardly then a clock or a watch in the whole region) groups would be coming in eager to see the missionary, pressing him to go to their own villages, offering their homes for places of worship. Already at Han Chia, a village celebrity, Liu, a well-to-do scholarly old farmer, had placed at our disposal his large homestead, and made us royally welcome. This was ten miles north of Chu Chia on the way from Tientsin. Others, on the south, were ready to do the same. The demeanour of all these people was respectful, reverent, almost worshipful. It was a new thing to those accustomed to be shunned on all sides and reviled as "foreign devils." It was the "romance

of missions" in full display, the more charming and idyllic as it was taking place at harvest time among peasant farmers, whose homes were mud-houses (yet often spaciouly built), and whose manners were rustic and unsophisticated.

Chu Chia village was comparatively small; about 250 families, making a population of, perhaps, 2,000 people, but it is set in the centre of a large cluster of villages, easy of reach, with seven cities, Mr. Hall tells us, not far distant in various directions. It is just over the border of Chihli in the north-west corner of Shantung province. Mr. Hall was greatly delighted with the whole country, and fairly empties his colour-box in painting its attractions. Chu Chia itself, he says, "stands in the midst of a garden of delights." Well! there are no coal stacks and no factory chimneys, and it was harvest time when it *does* look delightful. But lest there should be too great a run on this particular station, and the attractions of Yung P'ing and the Lan river should be neglected it may not be amiss to say that the country is very flat, and in winter, "When the trees are leafless, when the fields are bare," it looks stagnant and dreary enough.

The following monograph from the pen of Mr. Innocent, explicative of the *social* make-up of the village, and of Chinese villages generally, is specially interesting:—

"The Chinese have a peculiar method of giving names to their male descendants, perhaps in imitation of Imperial usage. The Emperor Kanghsi instituted a mode of naming the different branches of his family that everyone might see at a glance the generation to which each person belongs. He made a list of names, eight of which have been used for as many generations

in the Imperial dynasty. The given name of every member of the same generation contains the same word. The *given* name of the Emperor is *Mien*, and his brothers' names are *Mien* Kai and *Mien* Yü. He has two sons, and his distinctive term for their generation is *Yih*, and they are called Yih Chu and Yih Tseng. So among Chinese families they distinguish their members from others in the clan by a *constant* character for the *first* one in a *Fu ming* (ming being the *given* name, like our Christian name). Thus a family of brothers will be *Lin tung pei*; *Lin tung feng*; *Lin tung po*. Thus the word *tung* distinguishes this branch of the clan *lin* from all others.

"The humble instrument of introducing our mission to Chu Chia Tsai in Shantung was a poor illiterate man who was the elder of the *Chu* clan, Chu Tien Chuan. Other generations of the clan distinguished by their different middle names as *Tseng*, *Wen*, *Chin*, *Kuang*, showing the clan to be large and numerous; five generations, with their families, all living in the same village. This village was rather a cluster of hamlets of different clans, the *Chu* clan being the largest, but the settlements and land divisions of these several clans were easily traceable. On the north was the *Ma chia* or *Ma* family; on the west was *Li chia*; and on the east the *Chou* and the *Chang chia*. The five were so contiguous as to make but one large village known as *Chu Chia Tsai*—the *Chu* family enclosure.

"What was pleasingly noticeable in this religious movement was that the leading members of the clans were brought under the influence of the Gospel at the beginning of the work, and this prevented the rising of any hostile faction. Another favourable feature was that among the first converts was the teacher of a large

and high school, named Chu Tsung Yao, who was a local celebrity, and a man of great influence. Many of the youths of the different clans in his school were converted, and were brought into closer fellowship and grew up familiarized with the doctrines of the new faith. Some of these afterwards became students in our Training Institute, and successful preachers of the Gospel to their own countrymen."

To return to the narrative of these soul-stirring scenes.

The account of Sabbath worship at Chu Chia and of the labours of the following week; the meeting of our two brethren, under such happy circumstances, and the triumphant conclusion of their visit must be related here:—

"Divine service"—the narrative is Mr. Hall's—"was conducted in the small meeting-room in which a hundred voices joined in the song of praise. The courtyard was also filled, and all listened with reverent attention to the message of the Gospel. The whole service was full of interest, and it will live in my memory with ineffaceable impression for ever and ever. At its close, on being left alone for the night, I made it my first duty to write to my dear colleague, giving him a full account of all that I had witnessed, and urging him to join me without delay that we might take immediate action for suitably meeting the requirements of this great work.

"My letter was sent off at daylight yesterday morning, and sure I am that it will prove to Brother Innocent the occasion of overflowing gladness and joy. Every day of the following week was occupied in visiting surrounding villages from which came some of the enquirers, examining the candidates, dispensing medicine

to the sick, and conducting services in the preaching-room. On the following Sabbath morning I conducted service. I spent the whole afternoon in carefully examining candidates from outlying places whom I had not met during the week. It is difficult to say what proportion of the candidates may prove to be eligible for admission into the Church, but judging from the numerous cases which have already been enquired into, I think Brother Innocent will agree with me that we shall be warranted in receiving into our fellowship at least some fifty or sixty persons. This will leave a large number for further instruction.

"While taking tea this evening I was overjoyed by the arrival of my dear brother and colleague, Mr. Innocent. He received my letter on Wednesday night, and lost not a moment in hastening to my help. We have taken much sweet counsel together, and sometimes, while discussing the features of this great work, our emotions have quite overpowered us. Brother Innocent attended the evening service. Most of the outside people had returned to their homes, but as the women were present, the room was again full. Mr. Innocent delivered an earnest and most appropriate address, and after passing through the ordeal of receiving the warm and affectionate greetings of the people, returned with me to our hut, blessing and praising God for what he had seen and heard and felt. He has retired for the night, remarking that, much as he needed repose, it is almost impossible to think of rest after such delightful experiences. May we be divinely guided in all our actions for the welfare of the Christ-seeking souls around us!"

The two brethren, while together, carefully examined a large number of those who had given in their names

as believers in Christ, and were desirous of admission to the Church. Various meetings were held for this purpose on successive days of the week. They felt a solemn responsibility resting upon them as to the selection of suitable persons for baptism in such a time of excitement, and were anxious that only those, in whom they were satisfied that a genuine work of grace had taken place, should be received as the first members of the Christian Church in this heathen village. As the result of diligent and scrutinizing investigation forty-five persons were selected for baptism, and the ordinance administered to them in the presence of a large gathering of devout and attentive witnesses. A still larger number of names was left on a reserved list for further instruction. They were exhorted to continue in the faith, and give all diligence to make their calling and election sure.

Mr. Hall's health not being good, the two brethren returned to Tientsin together on September 29th, rejoicing in what the Lord had permitted them to see of His saving power and grace, and deliberating on the best plans to be adopted for nurturing this newly-planted infant Church.

On October 22nd, Mr. Innocent again visited the place, and spent over a fortnight encouraging the new disciples, and arranging for premises at Chu Chia to be used for mission purposes. The daily work was exceedingly pleasant though wearying. More were baptized, and on every hand the people gave heed to the things of God.

Even at this late date, after the lapse of more than forty years, and reviewing these scenes in the calmest and most critical spirit, it is impossible to escape the conviction of their remarkable character. If we are



Chapel, Schools and Hospital, Chu Chia.

to see the Spirit of God working in human affairs at all, we can surely see Him here. There can be no harm in discriminating between what was truly important and significant, and what was merely romantic. Which of us does not love romance? But the Divine hand is seen most clearly, not in the appearance of the Dreamer, nor yet in his dream, but in the far more truly wonderful fact that a whole region, hitherto closed to the Gospel, suddenly and unexpectedly, as if hundreds of hearts were moved by an invisible impulse, was thrown open, and whole districts were eagerly seeking the grace which, without this impulse, no effort and no importunity would have induced them to accept. Here is where the true emphasis lies. For ourselves we do not take the dream very seriously. We know too well what the exuberance of the Oriental imagination is, and how common dreams are in China. We will not base our faith in the supernatural upon any such datum. Perhaps, at the time, in England, in accounts of the movement, too much was made of the dream. We do not know. It had no particular influence on the Chinese. We share to the full Mr. Hedley's reserves. We also "are not concerned to explain, much less to justify." "One cannot," Mr. Hedley continues, "say that the old man's tale, as told to our pioneers, was quite unvarnished and unadorned. One cannot declare that unquestionably he had not some other and more worldly reasons for seeking out the foreign teachers, and inviting them to his village, etc." Discerning readers of "Our Mission in China" will suspect that there is something behind all this which has not been brought out into the light. Well, there is! It is not much, however, and there is no reason why this paltry little skeleton should not be dragged from his closet. Let

us give Mephistopheles his sop, and have done with him. It transpired on Mr. Hu's investigation of the facts that Chu Tien Chuan's relations with the Roman Catholics were not quite so simple as he had led our brethren to suppose. In fact, he had had trouble with them, was afraid of a lawsuit with them. We are far from thinking that his dream was an invention. As likely as not he was in the right in his differences with the Roman Catholics. It is almost certain he *honestly thought* he was. He was in great trouble; the trouble made him ill, and the dream came to his troubled mind. He wanted protection, and the strange workings of his mind begot at once the dream, and the impulse to throw himself on us. Mr. Hu was too shrewd to have anything to do with his lawsuit. Neither he nor anyone else resented our non-interference. He lived and died among us not a prominent member, but a faithful one. His death took place about 1891. The dream incident was quite a subordinate incident; romantic, but not greatly significant. But the turning of these conservative peasant villagers to the Gospel, their suddenly divesting themselves of all their dread of and prejudice against the foreign evangelist, the rapid and continuous spread of the truth over a wide area, which made possible, some years after, the residence of missionaries among them, and laid strong the foundations of our Shantung work, the spontaneous movement of so many hundreds towards the light: these were the true wonders, not dreams, but blessed and enduring realities, which justify us in magnifying "the wonderful work of God in Lao Ling."

CHAPTER XIV.

OCCUPYING THE NEW FIELD.

PERSECUTION, BEREAVEMENT AND PERIL.

IT was a remarkable coincidence that simultaneously with the opening of this work in Lao Ling two young brethren were on the way to China who had been appointed by the Conference (1866) to join our staff. The Revs. W. B. Hodge and W. D. Thompson, after an eventful passage, arrived in Tientsin, November 30th, and were heartily welcomed. To enable us to give due attention to the new field it was deemed advisable to relinquish work elsewhere in unproductive soil. A preaching-place in the city, which had been lent by Chang Ch'ih San was abandoned. The small station at Peitsang, nine miles south of Tientsin, was also relinquished. Jenchui, also, which so far had resulted in one baptism. The work there had not been quite in vain, and this one man followed Mr. Hu—"as Timothy followed Paul," says Mr. Innocent—and for many years served as a Catechist.

Lao Ling called loudly for their attention, and thus early they realized that missionary residence on the spot was requisite. A Chinese house in the village of Chu Chia was rented, and partly fitted up to suit the needs of foreigners. It was a queer, old farmhouse having a large court behind with some sheds for carts and horses, and a couple of rooms used by farm servants. Mr. Innocent and Mr. Thompson assumed

charge of the new station, Mr. Hall and Mr. Hodge remaining in charge of Tientsin. On March 18th, 1867, Mr. Innocent moved with his family to the Chu Chia house with its mud walls and brick floors. Two rooms in the same building were assigned to his colleague. One of the rooms in the back premises was used as a day school, the other as a Dispensary and Book-room. With little outlay the shed was converted into a chapel, which was larger and more convenient than the one hitherto used. This, Mr. Innocent speaks of, as a complete missionary establishment in one compound.

They even attempted medical work. Two hours were given every forenoon to relieving the numbers of sick people who applied for treatment under the impression that all foreign teachers were skilled medical men. Most of them had to be refused, as they were either serious complaints or incurables. By the use of simple remedies they were able to cure or relieve a certain number, and cleanliness or nutritious food played a prominent part in their prescriptions. This charitable work had its influence in producing a favourable impression on the minds of the people, and disposing even the prejudiced to give attention to the doctrines taught.

Another form of usefulness was a class of young men anxious to study the Scriptures and Christian doctrine with a view to future usefulness. They volunteered to provide their own food and furniture if we would give them a room to lodge in, and provide daily instruction. They were from different villages, and either had their millet and change of clothing sent by their families every five or ten days, or fetched by themselves. So that really the arrangement involved no charge on the mission, and was a source of strength

and hope to the Church. The class then formed has been carried on ever since though under somewhat modified conditions. From it some of our most valuable Chinese preachers and helpers have proceeded.

For a time the work went on peacefully, and with growing success. The missionaries being on the spot were able to conduct the services at this central station and secure regular visitations of out-stations as they were opened, and generally superintend the affairs of the mission. But too soon this peaceful condition was broken. It was not to be expected that so remarkable a movement could take place without exciting some opposition. The introduction of a foreign religion by foreigners, and the widespread influence of the doctrine in so short a period alarmed the upholders of native superstitions, and stimulated the wealthy and the literati to adopt measures for resisting such innovations. In one locality an organized attempt was made to crush the movement, and force the foreign teacher to withdraw. In the market town of Yang P'an on a market day, a colporteur was disposing of copies of the Scriptures, surrounded by a small band of Christians. A group of angry men, led by a wealthy farmer, made an attack on them, upset the bookstall, and beat the colporteurs, together with Mr. Liu, of Hanchia. The books were torn up, thrown into the mud and trampled on. Then a false charge against Mr. Liu was trumped up and lodged in the Yamên. Constables were sent to arrest him, but he was not at home, having gone to Tientsin. Another Christian man had been taken to prison. We appealed to the British Consul to insist on the case being investigated, and require the local official to enforce the provisions of the Treaty regarding the protection of Chinese Christians. For many days, dur-

ing which the enemy continued to slander and persecute, and many of the more timid enquirers held back from attending service at our chapels, the case was in suspense. But at length, through the influence of the Tientsin Consul, the Governor of Tientsin, Ch'êng Hou, sent a deputy to Lao Ling to inquire into the case. His visit resulted in the immediate liberation of the man who had been unjustly sent to prison, the condemnation of the man who had led the assault at Yang P'an, and the issue of a proclamation by the magistrate declaring the right of missionaries to propagate, and of the Chinese to follow, the Christian religion without molestation or hindrance. This settlement of the trouble had a most salutary effect on the whole district.

About this time (July, 1867) some painful circumstances dissolved the relations of Mr. W. D. Thompson with the mission, after but a few months' connection, and he left the country.

A sad affliction came to the family of Mr. Innocent in the month of May. Their infant son, Alfred, after several days' illness with fever, died. The distance of Lao Ling from Tientsin, at which place alone medical help was obtainable, was an occasion of great distress to the parents, and deeply impressed them with the need of a medical associate in mission work. At this time of their sorrow, most unexpectedly, two brethren called in who were travelling. One was the Rev. C. R. Mills, of Têng chow, on his way to Peking; the other the Rev. C. A. Stanley, from Tientsin. Mr. Mills was with them the day before the child died, and by his prayers and Christian counsel greatly strengthened and soothed the parents. Mr. Stanley, who had been for several years a neighbour in Tientsin, arrived on the day of the child's death. He, with his wonted kindness

and practical skill, took upon himself all the arrangements for the funeral. The ceremony was an object-lesson in Christian teaching to the native converts. Amongst the Chinese, infants, when they die, are never buried in the family cemetery. They are wrapped in matting and sent away in charge of a menial hired for the purpose, to be put by the river bank, or covered with a few inches of sod, laid by the roadside. They are supposed to have been possessed by the spirit of some deceased enemy of the family, and all traces of its presence are removed as far as possible. But here they saw, from the neat coffin, and newly-purchased grave, and the solemn service at that graveside, how precious such a young life was, not to its parents only, but to Christ who had said: "Suffer the little children, and forbid them not to come unto Me, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven."

To this day that infant grave, lying west of the village of Chu Chia is guarded with sacred care by the villagers, and is a monument to remind all who see it of the "sure and certain hope of a resurrection to eternal life," which the Christian cherishes.

This sad event appears to have made a profound effect upon the Innocents. Apparently their object in moving to Shantung was permanent residence. But their little one was lost to them. Mr. Thompson was leaving the mission, remaining at Chu Chia would be a lonely lot, and in July, 1867, they returned to Tientsin. There their fourth son, Arthur Grayson Innocent, was born September 27th of that year; he died in July, 1868. From that time up to the year 1878 permanent residence was not again attempted. Mr. Innocent remained in charge of the Circuit, his colleague in 1868 being Mr. Turnock, in 1869 Mr. Hodge; but in 1870 a

change was made and the brethren were all appointed to *Tientsin and Lao Ling*. The work in Shantung was carried on by visits in which each in turn took part.

The country mission developed apace. Converts from distant villages, finding it inconvenient to attend worship at Chu Chia every week, began to open their own houses, or provide suitable rooms in their own hamlets for service, the missionaries visiting them on their tours in Shantung. The bulk of our numerous chapels are still provided in this way. Preachers and Catechists are appointed to these places. For those who lived only three or four miles from the centre it was easy to worship, but when members lived ten or twelve miles away the new arrangement was necessary. Thus, in the course of a year, quite a Circuit of small churches was formed. Some on the north—Hanchia (1867), Ts'ang Shang (1868), Chao Chia Miao, Yang P'an, Chiu Hsien. Some twenty miles to the south-west—San Lîu Chia, Li Chia Lou, Wu Kuan T'un. Some to the east—Wang Kuan Liu Chia, Nieh Chia.

Each place thus opened was a centre of light and influence, and gathered hearers from adjacent villages. So "mightily grew the Word of God and prevailed." In every place the visit of the missionary was hailed with delight, whether on weekday or Sunday. The members would sit until late in the night singing, praying, listening.

In the year 1868 this district was much disturbed by the invasion of a large force of armed, mounted robbers called "Nien Fei." They were really a detached portion of the Tai-ping rebels, who, since the capture of Nanking by General Gordon, had been ravaging the northern provinces. Their presence caused great dismay to the people, who protected them-

selves by throwing up mud ramparts round their villages. This incursion of rebels has already been mentioned in Chapter XII. Mr. Innocent gives an account of his experiences with them which is exciting:—

“Mr. Lees and myself, he on a pony, and I in a cart, pushed on with all speed along the country roads. Late in the evening, as we neared Han Chia, we were surprised to find all the roads filled with people in the greatest terror. ‘What is the matter?’ ‘Oh, the rebels, the rebels are upon us!’ So it was. Villages, quite close to us, had been seized for their camp during the night. We had been misinformed about their locality, and in consequence had run into their arms. Being weary, and our animals needing rest, we took refuge in the house of our friend Liu at Han Chia. Hundreds of poor frightened women and children also took refuge in his large farmyard, to whom he cheerfully offered protection and food. We found a trusty messenger to go over in the darkness with a message to Mr. Hodge, who was ten miles away. Unfortunately, owing to the gates of the village rampart being closed at sunset, he could not deliver the message until daylight. At sunrise next morning we started to meet Mr. Hodge. Every road was crowded with fugitives. The corn was high on either side, so that our progress was slow. We were soon overtaken by a band of robbers, threading the line of fugitives on the road we travelled. One of these, armed to the teeth, came to us, and, with threatening attitude, demanded Mr. Lees’s horse. There was a slight hesitancy, and an attempted parley; but the horse had to be given up. The rascal dragged it away to join his fellows. Resistance would have been worse than useless. Along the whole line of fugitives we could see these villains plundering the

carts, rifling the bundles, unharnessing the animals, and bearing off the young women from their protectors. If the least resistance, or defence, were offered they knocked down, or shot, the victim in cold blood. Thus they plundered the people of everything that was valuable. Our loss, though serious to us at the time, was a trifle compared with that of numbers of those about us. We proceeded slowly on our way, not knowing but that a second and worse attack might be made upon us. We wandered about the whole day, partly to evade the villages where bands of these ruffians might be met with, and at sunset reached Chu Chia. This place we found almost abandoned. The people had gone to an adjoining village (Po Chi Liu Chia) that was protected by a rampart. Mr. Hodge had been there all night, but did not get our message until the morning. He had gone north to meet us. Anxiously we awaited his return. He came back about midnight, completely exhausted. His report confirmed our own impression, that our way back to Tientsin by the north was blocked, so that we resolved to make our way south. Before dawn we started, and, after two days' hard journeying, reached the Yellow River, opposite the City of Chinanfu. We saw much of the distress and the ravages caused by the marauders, and the Imperial troops which followed after them. The troops did not aim at close contact, but hung about two days in their rear, and often caused more distress to the poor country people than the mounted robbers. We spent a day in Chinanfu, and were generously entertained by the Bishop and fathers at the Roman Catholic cathedral. From information we gathered it was deemed best to avoid the high roads, and return to Tientsin by sea. Numbers of students, on their way to Peking for ex-

aminations, had to take the same course. So we took passage in a fishing boat, and were detained at the mouth of the Yellow River several days waiting for a fair wind. The boat was crowded with passengers, and the three of us had to stow ourselves into a cramped hole about six feet by three, over which was a movable hatch, which at night had to be closed down. For these boats are all divided into so many separate holds, with only a narrow footway on each side for the sailors. An awning was stretched over during the day, when the boat was not moving, or if the weather was fine. But it was most uncomfortable and stifling accommodation. To make matters worse our food ran short, and we could only procure salt fish, and a coarse kind of rice, on board. Our clothes, too, had become tattered, so that we were thankful to reach Taku, and proceed by cart to Tientsin, after an absence of nine days. For a week our families had been in the greatest concern about us, not knowing where we had got to. Our arrival afforded grateful relief to them as to ourselves.

"A singular fact came to our knowledge, afterwards, respecting these robbers. They entered but one of the villages where we had a preaching-place, and in that one committed no depredations. We had a small station at San Liu Chia with a Catechist in charge. The night before we met them they had entered this village, and a number of them took possession of the chapel for their quarters. The building being of respectable appearance one of their officers was attracted to the place. He began to read the papers pasted on the walls, such as the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, etc. He asked the Catechist what the place was used for. When informed, he ordered the men to clear out, and said he himself would occupy the rooms

for the night. He invited the Catechist and his boy to supper, sat up nearly all night listening to explanations of the Gospel, expressed great admiration, wished he had known Christianity earlier, regretted that he could not follow it. Next morning he took the Catechist and his boy in charge, and conveyed them safely to their own home. He took a list of the names of all our places in the district, and promised that if the Christians would remain at their chapels not one of them should be interfered with. This pledge was faithfully kept.

"But the Imperial soldiers showed no such regard. They had lodged in our house, made free with the furniture, partly for fuel, and partly for mischief, so that when we could go back there was little we could use."

Soon after his return from this trip, Mr. Innocent was taken seriously ill, and was laid aside for some weeks.

A very welcome addition to our staff arrived in Tientsin in November, 1868: the Rev. B. B. Turnock, M.A., accompanied by his wife, was sent out with a view to his taking charge of the work of training Chinese preachers. With them came Miss Landels, the *fiancée* of Mr. Hodge. Mr. Hodge met them in Shanghai, where he was happily married to Miss Landels. Mr. Turnock's appointment did not fulfil the hopes with which it had been regarded.

By December 3rd, 1868, our missionaries were again able to visit the stations in Lao Ling. The rebels had left the district some time before this. During the period of disturbance the schoolmaster at Chu Chia, Chu Tsung Yao, had conducted service every Lord's day, and, assisted by the chapelkeeper, had visited all

the villages as opportunity offered. They had done much to keep our members together. True, some had fallen away, but the great majority had remained steadfast, and they greeted the missionaries with a joyous welcome in every congregation. Many of them had suffered serious losses owing to the interruption of the usual labour on their farms, the stealing of their cattle, and the exactions of the troops. They recovered with surprising elasticity, and soon resumed their ordinary avocations with a sort of apathetic composure. They take such troubles, as they take drought and famine, as a visitation of Heaven against which it is vain to murmur. Speaking of the condition of things as they found them on this visit, Mr. Innocent says:—

“The whole district was in a state of tranquillity, and the life of the people again flowing in its wonted channels of peaceful industry. We found the churches in a more satisfactory state than we had expected. At Chu Chia the congregations were as large as in former times. There was a little falling off among the women, owing to the great poverty and distress into which they had been plunged by the rebel incursions. Some of the young men who had been attending as students, supported by their families, had also been obliged, owing to losses sustained, to work on the farms, or seek employment in distant places. But we soon got things into working order, and the hand of the Lord was with us.”

In January of 1869, the charge of Lao Ling was handed over to Mr. Hodge, who went out for a visit, accompanied by his young wife. Mr. Innocent's furlough was due, and in May, 1869, he left Tientsin, with his little family, and journeyed, via Japan, San Francisco, the Isthmus, and New York to his native shores.

CHAPTER XV.

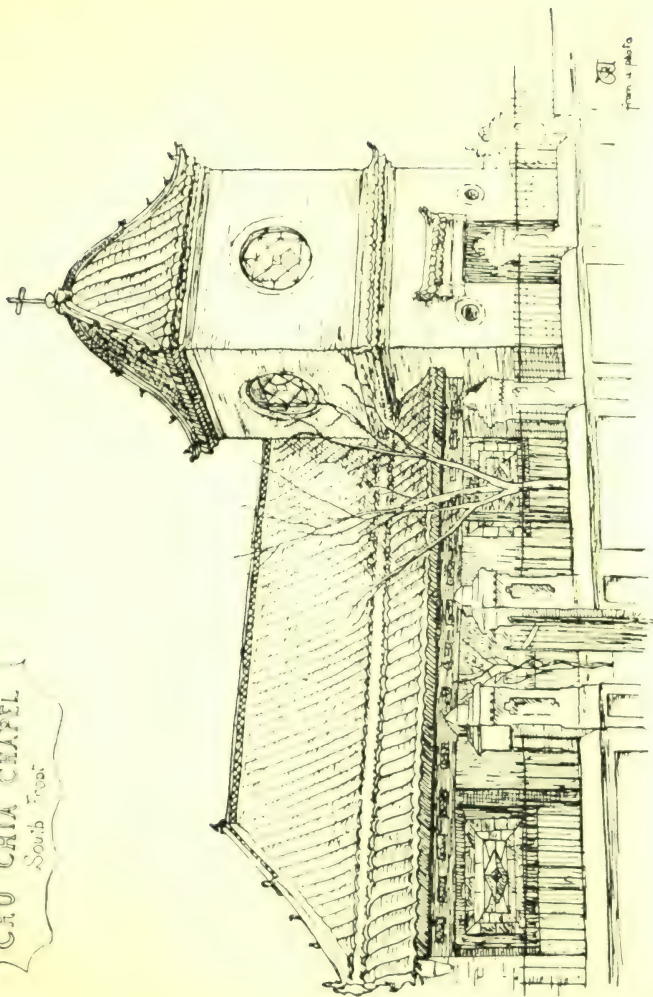
ON FURLOUGH.

MR. INNOCENT was absent from China, on his first furlough, for fully two years, from May, 1869, to July, 1871. He was back in Tientsin, accompanied by Mrs. Innocent, on the 25th of that month.

It is a pleasant fiction that a missionary goes on furlough "to enjoy a well-earned rest." If rest be a cessation from activity, it certainly is pure fiction so far as the "rest" is concerned. But the fiction is pleasanter than reality would be, for about the enjoyment there is no manner of fiction at all. The sweets of furlough are certainly not the sweets of idleness, but they are so delightful, that they must be tasted to be known. Nothing can exceed the beautiful spirit shown by our Home Churches in their welcome to the "live missionary," who comes to tell his tale among them. Their thoughtfulness, their hospitality, their indulgence, their earnest attention, their warm and positively affectionate personal interest, their appreciation of his work, come to him like a revelation of human nature, and are among the best things this earth can afford. If he does not get spoiled it is a wonder. And it is his ministerial brethren who indulge him most. Let him only be willing to attend an indefinite number of meetings, and be ready to speak when called on, and there is nothing they will not do for him. Deputation work is the most enjoyable thing we have ever tried. There is a lot to do, but it is delightful in the doing.

CHU CHIA CHAPEL

South Front



We *have* heard of a missionary who, on returning from a strenuous furlough, remarked that he was glad to get back to work in order to have a little rest. But a missionary ought not to be cynical. The essential idea of a missionary is that of one who travels about a good deal, and who preaches a good deal. On furlough he is by no means out of his vocation. He is a "travelling preacher extraordinary," doing about as much of both when off the field as when on the field. It is a sinful wish we know, but how nice it would be to be a missionary on furlough always!

In Mr. Innocent's case all these good things were heightened by the fact, that he was one of our two pioneer missionaries, the first to return, and now on furlough for the first time. His welcome was warm and enthusiastic. By a happy coincidence the Conference of 1870 was held in his native town. He preached the Missionary Sermon. His speech at the Annual Meeting is given in the "Missionary Chronicle" for August. It is a simple and straightforward presentation of the work done by himself and colleague, a review of the ten years of the history of the Mission, and an appreciation of native fellow-workers, Hu, Wang and Chang. It is singularly free from every kind of ornament. It mentions the fact that every one of the five men, so far sent to the field, were sent from Sheffield. The Rev. J. Maughan, who had been eight years in Australia, was also on furlough, and in a resolution of welcome to them both, the Conference declared that their success had "stimulated the songs of Zion, and added new fervour to our prayers," that "their services in the pulpit, and on the platform, as well as in private intercourse, have been a spiritual festival to our Church," and that the Conference rejoiced to send them forth

again to be the "Messengers of the Churches and the glory of Christ." Another fact to be noticed is that Mr. Innocent's old friend, Mr. Ephraim Hallam, was in the chair at the missionary meeting.

On this furlough Mr. Innocent did full work as a deputation. He mentions visits to Newcastle, Sunderland, Hartlepool, Manchester, Stockport, Liverpool, Southport, Bradford, Dewsbury, Leeds, Halifax, Oldham, Huddersfield, Hurst, Lees, Stalybridge, Bolton, Rochdale, Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Dudley, Oldbury, Hanley, Longton, Nottingham, Bristol, London, Truro, St. Ives and Guernsey. At Shrewsbury he visited "the quiet resting-place of Uncle William." There were many enthusiastic gatherings at Sheffield, where he took a house and resided during the early part of his furlough. There are entries in his notebook of a very large number of meetings he attended in the neighbourhood of Manchester. He was accustomed to make long speeches. At Salem, Manchester, he spoke for an hour and twenty minutes, Mr. Crossley in the chair. The attention, he tells us, was unflagging, and the chairman expressed *much pleasure* in what he had heard. Mr. Maughan was absent on this occasion, but at Sheffield, where it was also an hour and twenty minutes, he notes: "Mr. Maughan not pleased with my taking so much time."

His friendship with Mr. Hallam was renewed under circumstances very different from those of youthful days. He made several visits to Romiley, and much enjoyed the pleasant rest in Mr. Hallam's beautiful residence at Oakwood Hall. Under date September 23rd, we find the following: "Received great kindness from old and new friends. Went to Romiley to the house of my friend Mr. E. Hallam. Found him in very

altered circumstances. Personally not much altered. Very nice lady for a second wife. Met Messrs. Taylor, Donald and Henshaw with their wives there." The visit was repeated several times.

While at Lees he records a most interesting circumstance. "Requested to speak about the work in Lao Ling. Mr. Ogden stated that the pamphlet on Lao Ling *had led to the formation of the Irish Presbyterian Mission.*" This is now a very important and well-staffed mission in Manchuria.

While in England Mr. Innocent heard Newman Hall lecture on "Adam and Eve," and George Gilfillan on "Milton"—"very rhetorical and flowery." This was at Manchester. In London he "heard Dr. Parker preach a remarkable sermon at his week-day service in the Poultry, delivered with great power and earnestness." Also: "Sunday, February 6th (1870), went to the Tabernacle and heard Spurgeon preach a most effective sermon on Col. i. 29. ♣ 'Whereunto I also labour, striving according to His working which worketh in me mightily,' in which he showed the duty of individual effort for personal salvation and the salvation of others."

As an advocate for missions, Mr. Innocent's deliverances were always dignified, weighty and practical; free from any exaggeration or extravagance, but displaying sound judgment and giving solid information supported by personal experience of the work. He was not sufficiently anecdotal for some of our people who betray an inordinate fondness for signs and wonders, and are never tired of listening to personal stories of individual conversions. But men are not all made alike. It is not every one who is a good story-teller, and if a man has not that gift it is vain for him to

essay to exercise it. He had much to tell his hearers which was of more real consequence than any number of "thrilling anecdotes." The true lover of the mission cause, who alone has right to set the style for the rest, wants to learn, not in what picturesque colours a lively imagination can depict mission life, but what its real character is, and what methods of dealing with its many problems are justified by experience. Judged by that test he was a successful deputation.

The terrible massacre of Tientsin was announced in England during the latter half of 1870, and there appears to have been a disposition, in consequence, to delay his return to China. We reproduce the following portion of a letter written early in 1871, as it shows admirably Mr. Innocent's firmness of will and soundness of judgment at that anxious and critical period. Unfortunately the conclusion of the letter has been lost. It is, therefore, but a fragment:—

"Newton Heath, Manchester,

"March 14th, 1871.

"DEAR DR. STACEY,—I should be glad to have your decided opinion upon the matter of my return to China before Conference. I have intimated to Mr. Hulme that as the Committee have taken no action in the matter I shall be prepared to leave towards the end of April or beginning of May. Mr. Hulme seems to fear the passage money, etc., will unduly swell the expenses of the Mission Fund for the present year. This can only be a temporary objection, as if I leave after Conference it will cost no less than it would cost now. Moreover, if the claims made on the Chinese Government be met, the passage of Mr. and Mrs. Hodge to England will be balanced in the mission accounts being paid by the Chinese.

“With regard to the restrictions imposed on missionary labour, they can only be temporary, and will very likely have practically ceased by the time I reach China. If not, there will be scope enough for our labours in the city, and opportunities, by prudent stealth, may be used for the advantage of our mission until such restrictions are removed. I am not satisfied that a missionary should be governed in his work by the favour of Governments and Diplomats, or the temper of a nation; but while showing due respect to these he should have a higher regard for the Master he serves, and the claims of that spiritual undertaking in which he is engaged. And if, as Mr. Hall says: ‘Our British Plenipotentiary or Ambassador will not assure protection to missionaries in the interior,’ let them go without that protection, and trust their God and the Chinese Government (as they generally have done), and they will get on quite as well as they have done in the past. The only protection has been a passport, and what would a mob like that at Tientsin care for a passport? As to his safety, more depends on the personal bearing, conduct, and reputation of the individual foreigner in the interior than on any supposed power of national protection which may invisibly surround him. The people are not savages, but have as great a horror of bloodshed as the most civilized. This is the *rule*.”

Splendid! These words are as wise as they are brave, and show the calm, steady mind, and clear estimate which no temporary excitement could ruffle or disturb.

He was eager to go, and go he did, and when the Conference assembled he was upon the sea looking eagerly toward China.

CHAPTER XVI.

TIENTSIN CHURCH IN TRIBULATION.

BEFORE AND AFTER THE MASSACRE.

ON his return from furlough Mr. Innocent was given charge of the Church in Tientsin. The "Awakening" which opened so wide a door for us in Shantung seems to have also affected our church in the city. We have seen that in 1866, when the call came to Lao Ling, our membership in Tientsin was 24, with 7 probationers. For some unexplained reason the numbers for 1867 are not given separately either in the "Minutes" or the Missionary Report. But it may be inferred that the increase to 85 members and 23 probationers is almost, if not entirely, accounted for by baptisms in Lao Ling. In 1868 there is a substantial increase. For 1868 the return for Tientsin is nearly doubled, being 46 members and 9 probationers. The wave of blessing which had given us a new and extensive field in Shantung had also carried the Tientsin Church forward to gratifying prosperity. This is, perhaps, to be ascribed in part to an event of great significance which also took place in 1866.

This was the opening of Kung Pei Chapel. It was after much trouble and patient waiting that this place was secured. The situation was superb. It must be remembered that up to the time of the Boxer outbreak Tientsin was a walled city. The designation "in the city" meant inside that wall: "outside the city," out-

side that wall. But the best, the busiest, the wealthiest part of the city was and still is outside the city, technically speaking, i.e., outside the wall. The best shops are situated, and the most business is done, along the line of streets running from the Settlement in a transverse line toward the North gate, a line formed by Old Clothes Street, Palace North Street, Palace South Street, Stone-door-sills Street, and Foreign Goods Street. *Kung Pei* means Palace North. The Palace—*Kung*—is a Temple, one of the most frequented in Tientsin, and dedicated to the Queen of Heaven—the Chinese Aphrodite, goddess of the Sea. It has already been mentioned as the place where worship was held for foreign soldiers from 1860 to 1862. From two to three hundred yards north of this temple stood our Kung Pei Chapel. The street runs midway between the river and the east wall of the city, and from Kung Pei to the East Gate was but a short distance. The building was taken on a pawn-lease, a common method of leasing in China. You pay down a given sum and a lease deed is made out for a given number of years. After the term expires the original owner has the option of redeeming, by paying back the original sum. The interest on the money advanced stands for the rent, and you get the principal back before giving up the building. This arrangement occasioned trouble in 1889, when a representative of the original lessor appeared and offered to redeem the property. By payment of a further sum, however, the property became ours on a purchase deed. Previous to our acquiring it in 1866 it had been a Chinese tea shop, the only kind of public-house known in China. The main room was about 20 feet by 40 feet, with small rooms at the back and a room, also very small,

on the left-hand side. The property was in a very dilapidated condition when we took it. Our brethren were not a little proud of acquiring so excellent a site, and on February 2nd Mr. Hall wrote the Mission Secretary as follows :

“ During the past month we have succeeded in obtaining a large shop in the most commanding position that this city affords, and we are now converting it into a chapel on a scale unsurpassed by any mission in this place. We are truly grateful to God for the favour vouchsafed to us in the attainment of this object. Our attention has been fixed on this locality for four years or more, and we have strongly exerted ourselves at various intervals to effect its occupation, but until now all our efforts have been unavailing. Other missionary friends have also laboured for the same end with equally fruitless results. In this last, but happily successful attempt, we have met with no small annoyance and trouble, but every obstacle has been swept away. . . . We have now secured a position which we hope to occupy for many years, and where from the crowds who are perpetually thronging the street we have every reason to think that thousands will be brought under the sound of the Gospel.”

We may say here that for many years Kung Pei served splendidly for street preaching. It was “a good stand,” and perhaps we made a mistake to sell it. But for our principal place of worship, notwithstanding what is said above, it was ridiculously small. The chapel had a superficial area of 800 square feet, was simply a large room looking like a shop, built entirely in Chinese style, with no light on either side ; windows at each end, helped out by a paper skylight. By the time an entrance porch had been taken out, and room

left for the pulpit, you had but to put fifty people in it, and it was packed. It was destroyed at the time of the massacre, but rebuilt; and again razed to the ground by the Boxers, after which it was never restored. The site was sold in 1905 for the handsome sum of £400. It was opened on Sunday, March 6th, the Rev. J. Lees and the Rev. C. A. Stanley conducting the opening services. "The crowds which pressed and hung about the door," says Mr. Innocent, "were truly surprising." Mrs. Hu fairly "astonished the natives" by appearing at the service with her daughters and another woman. It was a bold thing to do in those days. Their most sanguine expectations were met in the daily throngs which gathered to listen to the preaching, and they soon found it was "too small for the people drawn to the place." Here they got a larger proportion of respectable and cultivated Chinese than they had been accustomed to, and after two months of labour they began to reap the fruit of their toil. Of even greater importance than the finding of the place was the finding of a man to occupy the place, and their instrument was already prepared in the elderly and scholarly convert, Wang Yi Hua. He was at once appointed to Kung Pei. Mr. Innocent testifies that "no man was better qualified, from his knowledge of Scripture, and the Chinese classics, his intimate acquaintance with the subtleties of native character, and superstitions, his strong faith in Christ, and confidence in the power of the Spirit of God, for the position. By his faithful exposure of the evils of sin, and delightful portrayals of the truths of the Gospel salvation, which he delivered with a freeness and eloquence unequalled, he often kept his hearers spellbound. The learned, and illiterate alike, were enchanted by the

John Innocent

force of his intelligent and faithful utterances. The Holy Spirit, whose aid he constantly sought, used his ministry to the conversion of many souls." Many official and literary friends were attracted to us at this time, among whom was a mandarin of some rank, named Hsiu.

Wang Yi Hua was, perhaps, the most distinguished Chinaman who ever belonged to us. He was born at Chao-pu, a town near Shanghai city. He ranked as a mandarin, though he had quitted office, and his son was also an expectant official. His conversion was remarkably deep and sincere. An old man, he began at once to study the Scriptures with passionate earnestness, and he, who at first thought it impossible that any literature could equal the wisdom of the Sages, soon came to see even his beloved classics to be far inferior to the Word of God. Mr. Innocent had a small class of boy boarders, and Chang Ch'ih San, just baptized, a young man, was set apart as a theological student. The old man took his place as a scholar among the boys, made far more rapid progress than any of them, and was accustomed to explain his eagerness by saying: "You see I am an old man, I have less time before me than you, I must make haste, you need not work so hard, but I must; my days will soon be over." His work on the "Clear Lamp of Heavenly Truth" was a most scholarly production. We have seen it years ago. It was a masterpiece which ought not to have been allowed to go out of print. He was a "grand old man," with the mind of an intellectual giant, the heart of a child, and the holy fire of a saint. We have never had another quite like him. He had an independence of mind, which led him into little harmless heresies, which the missionaries did not quite like, but

which showed his great sincerity. He had always refused to go out to Lao Ling, saying: "I do not hear the Lord's voice. My work is in Tientsin," but when the dark days of the Nien Fei came, and we were hard put to it, with Mr. Hodge's illness, for some one to go out, he voluntarily sought Mr. Hall, and said: "You have several times asked me to go out there, and I never felt at liberty, but since Mr. Williamson's death I have heard the Lord's voice ringing in my ears. Necessity is laid upon me, and *go I must.*" It was he who, when Mr. Hall was leaving for England, sent the message to Mr. Hulme and Dr. Stacey, and those in England who first sent the missionaries: "We old men can never go to England, never see your faces there, and thank you for what you have done, but when we get to Heaven be sure we shall go round amongst the angels, and seek you up and thank you there as we ought." He was a man of great courage as he showed in escorting Mr. Hodge, with his wife, over the long journey from Lao Ling, via Chefoo, in the dangerous time immediately following the massacre. His death took place in Tientsin on September 2nd, 1873, after but a short illness. "On Sunday morning," writes Mr. Innocent, "I asked him how he felt. 'Peace! Peace!' was his reply. 'Do you feel the Lord to be with you now?' 'Yes, he never leaves me!' On Monday he was very low. . . . I asked him if all was well, and he lifted his hand in the affirmative. On Tuesday, about half-past one in the afternoon, after a very restless night, he ceased to suffer, and gently breathed his soul away—peacefully as a child that falls asleep on his mother's breast." He departed much mourned, as much beloved by all, and remembered still as "Dear Old Wang." The "Mission-

ary Chronicle " for January, 1875, has a memoir of him.

Beginning with the opening of Kung Pei there was a steady increase of membership in the Tientsin Circuit. In 1871, that is, immediately after the massacre, the numbers sank from 55 to 41. One of our members was killed, and the Church was badly scattered: that there should be a decrease of 11 only is itself significant. In 1872 the return went back to 45. In 1873 it rose to 57; in 1874 to 61; in 1877 to 78; and in 1878, the year of Mr. Hall's death, there were in Tientsin Circuit 86 members with 9 probationers.

On the 24th of August, 1869, a distressing tragedy took place. Mr. Hodge, accompanied by the Rev. J. Williamson, of the L.M.S., had started on a journey by boat to visit the stations in Shantung. On the second night from Tientsin they were anchored in the canal, a little below the town of Cheng-Kuan-t'un. Shortly after they had retired for the night they were attacked by a band of robbers. It was a hot night, and Mr. Williamson had elected to sleep on the little deck at the front of the boat. Mr. Hodge was inside. He was alarmed by a violent noise, and the sound of a scuffle, and as he emerged from the cabin, a number of armed robbers in masks stood on the deck, who struck at him with their swords. He was hit about the head and shoulders. He jumped into the water and managed to scramble ashore. He saw nothing of his companion who had already fallen into the water, but dazed and bruised fled in his night-clothes to a farmhouse, the owner of which took compassion on him, and lent him some warm clothing. After a time he rallied, and, with a number of local police, returned to the boat to find it abandoned and stripped of everything valuable. No trace of Mr. Williamson could be



Taku Road, Tientsin.

found. He made his way to Tientsin alone, and, some days after, the body of Mr. Williamson was found in the canal. He had probably been struck by the robbers and fallen stunned into the stream. Some of the thieves were captured, and at their trial confessed that they had followed the boat from Tientsin, having seen silver ingots (the usual form of carrying money in interior China) taken on board. Robbery was their object, and no doubt they had not intended to murder Mr. Williamson. This event is commemorated in a tablet erected in Old Union Church.

The shock to Mr. Hodge was very serious, and he never quite recovered from it. He went to Chefoo with the object of recovering his shattered nerves, but did not altogether succeed. May 31st, 1870, however, he again went to Lao Ling. Mr. Hall had gone south, also on account of ill-health. Mr. Innocent, and his family, were, as we have seen, in England, or, rather, by this time on their way out. Up to the very eve of the massacre, Mr. Turnock was alone in Tientsin. On June 20th Mr. Hall returned, and the very next morning the diabolical storm burst over the city which can never be forgotten, which startled the civilized world, and which brought the searching fires of tribulation over the whole mission.

The massacre of Tientsin was a deed of such wild and bloodthirsty violence that it can only be described as a foretaste of Boxerdom, happily restricted to a single city. Of the many outrages suffered by foreigners in China before 1900 it was the very worst. Like the Boxer outbreak it took place at the Summer Solstice. The longest day in the year, the 21st of June, 1870, was the fateful day. For weeks beforehand the most terrible rumours, of very diversified

character, were sown broadcast over the city. A man belonging to the official class in the south, who came to the north for the purpose, and whose name was Chêng Kuo Hsuai, is said to have been the chief instigator of this work. It was noted that a week or two before the great event the servants of many foreigners did not dare to sleep on their premises. An unspeakably infamous pamphlet, "A Deathblow to Corrupt Doctrine," was printed and sold with *quasi* secrecy on the streets. This pamphlet was a masterpiece of mendacity and vileness, only surpassed by the still more infamous Chou Han sheets which appeared many years later in the south. Among many other charges of the foulest character, the most graphic and detailed ones were that foreigners, and more especially missionaries, were engaged in kidnapping young children, and after doing them to death *gouging out their eyes and hearts to make magic medicine*. They were supposed to make use of such drugs to secure new converts. These supposed drugs were given a name—"heart-bewitching philtres," "eye-bewitching philtres." You must have lived in a country like China to comprehend the confidence with which rumours of this kind are circulated, and the implicit faith with which they are believed *in a time of popular excitement*. The only newsagency was the tongue; and rumour, hundred-tongued, fairly flamed, coruscated and smoked itself black with the recital of such horrors. From the first these slanderous attacks were skilfully directed and focused upon the Roman Catholic Missions. Their cathedral, a proud pile of Gothic architecture, was built upon a cherished national site, superbly overlooking the river, and at the junction of the Grand Canal with the river. Here had stood a Palace building sacred to the uses of the

Emperor when visiting Tientsin. It had been wrested from China by the French troops without payment, and on one-half of it was built this cathedral, and on the other half the French Consulate. The popular mind had always been very sore at this act of confiscation. In another part of the city, and on the other side of the river, was a Church and Hospital occupied by the Sisters of Mercy. There were eleven Sisters, mostly French, one or two Italians, and one bore an Irish name.

It so happened that at this time an epidemic prevailed which got into the Hospital and the schools of the Sisters. It was said they were carrying out their dead for burial nearly every day. The charges of mutilation were repeated with the utmost circumstantiality. The statement was made that bodies of children were exhumed in the cemetery and eyes and hearts were found to be missing. By such stories as these the popular mind was lashed into a perfect fury. Though repeated representations of the necessity of taking steps to prevent disorder were made by the Consuls, nothing was done. The prefect and sub-prefect are said to have connived with the ringleaders who were egging on the populace ripe for mischief. Ch'eng-hou, the Governor, a mandarin of the highest rank, is said to have refused to take part, but stood aside and remained inactive. Before the event took place everything was arranged, everything was announced. The day was fixed, the hour, the signal, the points of attack, the leaders who were to place themselves in the van.

The dreadful morning dawned. The great bell on the Drum-tower (close by our chapel) tolled out the awful signal, the fire brigades of the city rushed forth as if for duty, the infuriated populace crowded in their

wake, the most desperate characters in the city, armed with spears, swords, pikes, weapons of the most varied kinds, pressed to the front, and this immense mob, wild with fierce excitement, formed itself into two parties and moved simultaneously upon the cathedral, and the Church of the Sisters of Mercy.

While these events were yet in preparation the French Consul, M. Foucanier, learning something of what was in contemplation, had gone in all haste to Ch'eng-hou's yamên to urge the necessity of immediate action. There was an angry interview, the great mandarin professed helplessness, some say the Consul drew his revolver, but that was denied. Certain it is that he got no satisfaction. He left the yamên and hastened back to the Consulate beside the cathedral, only to fall into the hands of the mob, which had already surrounded it. He was at once attacked, murdered, and his body thrown into the river. Warming to their work, the infuriated mob attacked the cathedral, set it on fire, dragged forth two Roman Catholic priests, together with Monsieur and Madame Thomassin, who had only arrived the day before, and were on their way to Peking, and cruelly murdered all of them, as well as many Chinese inmates. On the other side of the river, not more than twenty minutes' walk from the cathedral, a still more savage mob attacked the Hospital and Church where the Sisters resided. An account written shortly after says: "These Sisters were not permitted the mercy of simultaneous death, but were butchered one by one, after the most horrible bodily and mental torment that the fiendish imagination of their persecutors could conceive." The buildings were then burned and some forty children who had hid themselves in the cellar beneath the

Church were suffocated. The mutilated remains of the sisters were thrown into the burning buildings. Eleven sisters were done to death in this barbarous fashion. At the present day a round pillar, with her Christian name carved on it, marks the spot where each sister is supposed to have been martyred. Five other foreigners were killed in the streets, a French tradesman and his wife, two Russian gentlemen, and a lady married only four days before. In all, twenty-one foreigners were killed. Some authorities give twenty-two.

While it was evident that the chief animus of the populace was against the Roman Catholics, its fury was not confined to them. Protestant missionaries were sought for in their chapels. Eight chapels in the city were looted and destroyed. The Chinese Christians were driven from their homes and robbed. Chang Ch'ih San had to pay Tls. 300—about £90—as ransom for himself and family. Everything of value was taken from his house. One of our Chinese preachers, Mr. Liu Tu Ya, who was in the chapel, was so beaten and wounded that he died of his wounds a few weeks afterwards. The day after the massacre a man with some combustible material was found in the tower of Union Church. He evidently had intended to set fire to the building.

Reparation for this terrible deed was tardy and halting. It was not until the 15th of September that sixteen desperadoes of the city were executed, and twenty-three others exiled. At best they were but the tools employed by men blacker-hearted than themselves, but much doubt has been expressed by foreigners as to whether they were the real perpetrators of the murders at all. Those who were executed went to the block with much bravado, clad in silken robes

provided by subscription, and accompanied by an admiring populace. On the 26th of October indemnity was ordered for the sufferers, but was grudgingly paid. "A paltry sum, only about one-fourth of the estimated loss," says Mr. Innocent, "was paid to the two English Protestant missions in Tientsin by the Chinese authorities, on the 16th of June, 1871, close on a year after the massacre." The chapels were re-built, but in very shoddy fashion.

Our readers will readily imagine the widespread alarm, and the interruption to mission work which took place. For months the missionaries could not visit their churches. The members were subject to the most grievous persecution. Many were plundered and driven from home. Some of the feeble shrank from the fiery trial and were lost to us, the great majority remained faithful. No meetings could be held in the city chapels. The converts gathered for Sabbath worship in the missionaries' homes. Kung Pei was not re-opened until November 20th, 1871.

While the massacre was taking place Mr. and Mrs. Hodge were both in Shantung. They had been accompanied by a friend, Mr. Moulls, who returned to Tientsin on the 19th, and sent carts for Mr. and Mrs. Hodge, which actually left *on the morning of the massacre*. But, happily, their return was delayed, and the delay gave time for a letter of warning, written by Mr. Hall on the 22nd, to reach them. The letter warned them, and in the Consul's name, not to come to Tientsin. What was to be done? After anxious deliberation and prayer they decided to make south for Chefoo, a long journey of twelve days, escorted by Messrs. Hu and Wang, whose courage on the occasion was splendid. Mr. Hodge's own account of this journey appeared in

the "Missionary Chronicle" for January, 1871. It was a long, perilous, anxious, toilsome journey, and at its end Mr. Hodge was completely broken down. After a few days in Chefoo he came on to Tientsin to confer with Mr. Hall. Mr. Hall saw at once how serious his state was. Dr. Frazer was called in, and insisted on his return to England without delay. Mr. Hodge records the mournful recollection that he left Tientsin on the 3rd of August (1870), the day when the remains of the murdered Sisters of Charity and other French subjects were removed from the English Cemetery to their final resting-place in the Consular grounds: the day too when the first martyr in connection with our Chinese Mission (poor Liu Tu Ya, who had been beaten by the mob) entered into rest. He arrived in England on October 23rd.

It was a wet China to which Mr. Innocent returned in July of 1871. The rains that year were excessive. The various streams which converge at Tientsin were all greatly swollen, and the Pei-ho had burst its banks so that the plain by which the city is surrounded had become one immense lake. The high-road between Tientsin and Taku on which our mission property stands was covered with three feet of water. Many villages had been swept away, and the walls of the city were covered with homeless refugees living under mat sheds. Every temple and every temple-court in the city was converted into a temporary refuge for the destitute. Even the foreign houses were all more or less damaged and leaking. Our mud-built cottages leaked in every room, and some of the walls melted away. For many successive nights Mr. Innocent had to arrange for his wife and daughter to sleep under a large dining table, while he slept himself on the

top of it, with an umbrella fixed over his head. The mission houses, built on raised ground, were all like little islands and they passed from one to the other or to the settlement in boats. The Union Church roof was off for repairs and services were held in the British Consulate. The house, which had been occupied by Mr. Turnock up to the massacre, being on lower ground, was completely destroyed owing to a break in the river bank through which the water rushed in a fearful torrent. Mr. and Mrs. Turnock had to take refuge in a room kindly offered them by Mr. Lees. It was at this time that Mr. Turnock decided to withdraw from the Mission and return to England. He was suffering from a serious affection of the throat, which in the doctor's opinion was aggravated by the prevailing dampness, and was never likely to get better in such a climate. He therefore hurriedly prepared for departure and left Tientsin August 30th, 1871, about one month after Mr. Innocent's arrival. He had been in China less than three years. A diligent student, he had acquired a good knowledge of the Chinese language, had already commenced preaching to the Chinese, and with his classical attainments was just fitted for the work he had come to do. To lose him at such a time, when the need for workers was so urgent, was, in the language of Mr. Innocent "a great and sorrowful bereavement." He returned to the English ministry and died in 1880.

Two years later, in the autumn of 1873, a still more desolating inundation visited Tientsin. The banks of the Grand Canal, on the west side of the city, gave way and flooded the plain south of the city. The level of the river was 12 feet above that of the plain; the gap in the embankment was 150 yards wide. In

a few days the plain became an extensive lake, and miles of growing crops were destroyed. By this time one new house of a substantial character had been erected, and though it was necessary to hire gangs of men to throw up embankments to keep the water out of the Mission Compound, Mr. Innocent records his gratitude in having "a safer and more comfortable shelter than in the previous flood."

In the spring of this same year Mr. Hall took his first and only furlough. He had been on the field an abnormally long time—nearly fourteen years—and the change was much needed. He left Tientsin at the end of April, 1873, carrying with him a special letter of most affectionate farewell from our united Chinese Churches, a translation of which was done into English and sent to the Secretary by Mr. Innocent, and the design registered deep in his heart to raise funds while in England which would be sufficient to build a Training Institution for Chinese preachers. He travelled home by way of Canada and the United States. For the time Mr. Innocent was alone, but the return of Mr. Hodge, who came back from furlough in October, relieved the strain. Within a few days of his arrival Mr. Innocent left Tientsin work in his hands, and went to pay a sadly-needed visit to the Shantung Circuit. He records that such was the state of the floods at that time that he had to take boat at the Compound gate and travel twenty miles across the flooded plain over fields of wheat ripe for gathering, the ears of which we saw waving *under the water*, before he could reach the cart which was to take him to the country.

It is of this period that Mr. Innocent, feeling the strain of his manifold duties, writes: "We had more claims than we could well meet. There were in Tient-

sin the students of the Theological Class, the three chapels with daily preaching, as well as worship on Sundays, and a special service for women. Then preaching in the English Church came pretty frequently. There were usually one or two gunboats in the port, the men of which were ashore every day, and we naturally felt an interest in their welfare. On week-days we held Temperance and other meetings in rooms where they could gather for social enjoyment and improvement, instead of dissipating in grog shops. At Taku a gentleman and his wife provided a chapel for Chinese preaching and paid the salary of a preacher. This was the beginning of our cause in Taku, and visits were made from this time forth with a view to preaching in English as well as Chinese. In prospect of Mr. Hall's return a new house had to be built, and as I was my own architect, the drawing of plans and specifications and arranging with contractors consumed a good deal of time." This second house was built in 1875, and with the one already mentioned constitutes our present residential property in Tientsin.

At the very time when Mr. Hall went on furlough, Mr. Lees collected statistics of the various missions which by this time had been established in North China, from which it appeared that there were in all some 2,000 converts, of whom 1,200 were baptized. Of this number 242 pertained to our own Mission. In March of 1875 this was increased to 276.

The following is an account of a terrible picture which Mr. Innocent discovered being exhibited as a peep-show in 1875:

"During my visit to Lao Ling, Mr. Hu, our native preacher, showed me a vile picture which he and another man had taken from a showman at a country

fair, and which was being exhibited in a peep-show. The scene is taken from the Tientsin massacre, but is not a delineation of that event. Its worst feature is the portrayal of a foreigner scooping out the eyes of a woman, and another cutting out the heart of a woman. These are in the windows of the cathedral, another part of which is in flames. There are a great number of Chinese officials of the highest grades, with their banners and men. The officers are directing the men in a bloody attack on a number of foreigners in military dress, evidently French. The whole scene is revolting, but such as to excite the deep prejudices of the Chinese and rouse their vilest passions against Europeans. The eye-scooping, and cutting-out-of-the-heart operations, are so represented as to realize to the Chinese what is so often current in the wild rumours afloat respecting foreigners, and the fact that such pictures are shown about the country at public fairs, may account for these rumours being kept afloat.

"Mr. Hu showed great courage on the occasion, for he went with the other gentleman on hearing of this show, and saw it for himself, they then seized the show and the man, and threatened to send him before the magistrate. Fortunately some of the respectable people at the place sympathized with Mr. Hu and prevented any disturbance. The man begged them not to prosecute him, and others pleaded for him, so they ultimately let him go, minus this picture. They could not get his true name nor the name of the shop where he bought it, but were informed by him that he obtained it in Tientsin and that it was painted to his order.

"Mr. Hu showed me this picture which measures 3 feet 6 inches by 2 feet 6 inches, and I brought it

with me to Tientsin. I sent it to H.B.M. Consul here, with an account of the circumstances under which it was obtained, and suggested that inquiries should be made as to whether such pictures were being exhibited in the city and other places. Mr. Mongan said that it was one of the worst things he had seen, and determined to take action upon it at once. He convened a meeting of the Consuls and they have sent a joint letter to the Viceroy on the subject, which is all that has been done so far."

EXTRACT FROM THE "CELESTIAL EMPIRE."

In reply to the joint letter of the Consuls to the Viceroy, setting forth the facts of the finding of the picture representing the Massacre of foreigners by Chinese, a reply has been received which is everything that could be desired. Attention is called to the fact that on the occasion of former complaints, the pictures were seized and the blocks destroyed, and a proclamation issued by the Tao-t'ai. The present case is taken to be that of ignorant persons in remote and rural districts beyond the natural observation of officials. The Tientsin and Customs Tao-t'ai are ordered to send deputies to the place in question, (or where the picture was found) to join the local Magistrates in a thorough search for these pictures and the blocks, punishing offenders according to law. They are also to issue interdictory proclamations enjoining local officials to make inquiries, and to check idle rumours among rustic people, and this in the interest of the welfare both of Chinese and foreigners.

CHAPTER XVII.

FOUNDING THE TRAINING INSTITUTION.

IF the question were raised, What is the primary object of a Christian Mission to a country like China; is it to found a Chinese Christian Church, or is it rather to get the Chinese to found one themselves? the present writer would certainly support the latter opinion. It may very well be, indeed, experience goes far to prove, that to accomplish the latter end you must in part undertake the former, nevertheless that is *the end*, the other being only the means, and here especially the end must never be lost sight of. A Church in embryo, founded by foreign missionaries, which itself becomes the nucleus of a greater Church founded by home evangelists and pastors native to the land, and, therefore, alone capable of giving it an indigenous life and character, that is the ideal. And the key to the foundation of any Church is the calling forth of its ministry. If these considerations apply to the efforts of great and wealthy Western Churches, to solve the problem of christianizing China, to a Church like our own, in command of only very limited resources, they apply with far greater force. Accordingly, what began to be evident from the very beginning, from the day when we engaged our first Chinese evangelist, Mr. Hu, has shone out with added clearness with each year added to our history. That Chinamen must convert China, as Mr. Hedley has rightly said, "is axiomatic." A native ministry, then, in the best sense of the phrase, not as

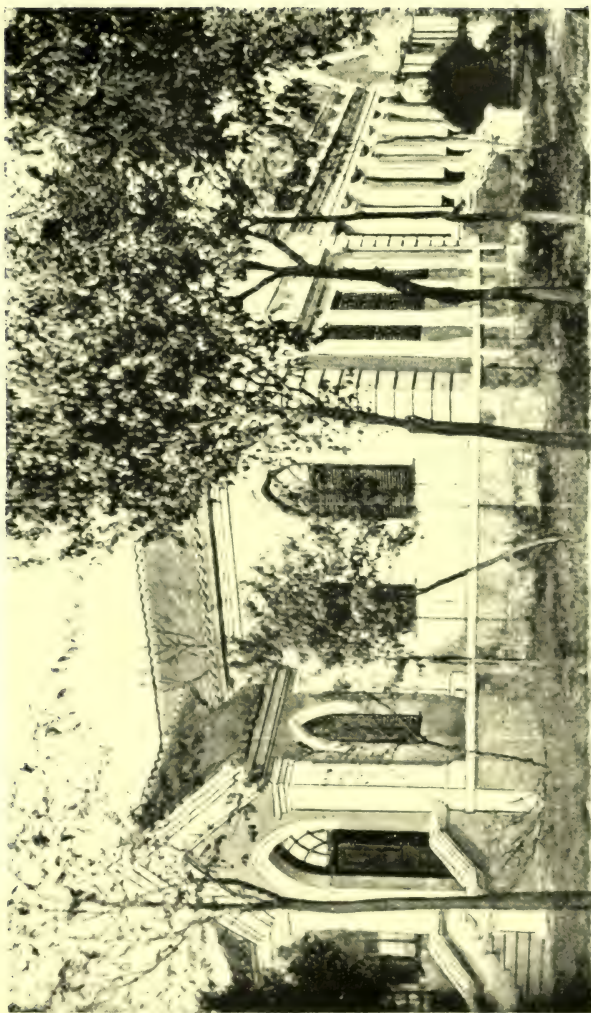
a subordinate auxiliary to our own efforts, but as a superior instrument—that alone, as far as human agency is concerned, can effect the grand result, and is the indispensable condition of success. A native ministry is only to be had by training. It is true that *all* the work of the mission is itself a training agency, still the best teachers must be prepared in a *normal* school. The Training Institution, then, should be regarded as no mere adjunct, or appendage, of the mission, but as the very heart of our scheme.

The necessity for this important agency, which is thus enforced on the highest grounds, is equally stringent if we consider only economical reasons. Before we had been ten years in China it was abundantly evident that with the many open doors, we were called upon to enter, it was out of question impossible, as a mere matter of expenditure, to staff our mission as *it then stood* with foreign agents, to say nothing of its subsequent growth. "Can you not strongly urge the necessity of a cheaper form of missionary service?" This was a question pressed upon the present writer when on furlough in 1891. "A cheaper agency," in this case, meant English missionaries with lower salaries. But if cheapness is the object, why think of such an expedient? The most highly-paid Chinese servant of the mission to-day, the Chinese tutor of the Training Institution himself, draws a salary of less than £20 per annum. A mean estimate of the salary of our Chinese staff would bring the figure down to little more than half that sum. So cheap are the conditions of living among the Chinese that a table showing the salaries of our Chinese preachers would present itself as a huge joke to the English mind. If cheapness is the object, why save twenty per cent when you

may far more easily save two thousand per cent, and get twenty men for the cost of one?

The story of the founding of the Training Institution goes back to the year 1865, when what was called a Boarding School for Boys was established. The class was held in a cellar under Union Church. There were six boys, and their only dormitories were some kitchen-rooms belonging to Mr. Hall's house. They had to make their refectory where they could. It was a school of the order now known as an Intermediate School, of which we have one at Chu Chia, one at Wuting, and one at Tangshan. What connects it with our Training School work is the fact that three of the boys, Hu Tzü Ngen, Tso K'o Ch'eng and Chin Chao Kuei, were intended for preachers, and, in fact, afterwards became students in the formally organized Training Institute. Chang Ch'ih San, the teacher, was also regarded as a theological student, and in that early day was a young man of brilliant promise. Here it was that "Old Wang" was accustomed to take his place among the boys. In 1871 the Training Institution, in its present form, was organized. No other buildings were available, and classes were held in the little chapel at Tzü Chu Lin, which still had to serve for worship on the Sabbath day. Chang Ch'ih San was appointed Chinese tutor; it was placed in Mr. Hall's charge, and rules were drawn up, and a curriculum, embracing theological and Scriptural subjects, with Church history and Chinese classics, was formulated. The great difficulty at that time was to procure text-books. There were but very few, and those of a most fragmentary character, to be obtained, and dependence had to be placed chiefly on oral teaching. While Mr. Hall was placed in charge, Mr. Innocent also took full share

in the teaching work. They began with ten students which the next year were increased to thirteen, and divided into junior, middle and senior classes. Up to 1874 sixteen students had entered the College. From that time onward a number of students have been received each year with the exceptions that in 1878, 1881, 1884, 1886, 1887, 1901, no students were received. The course is intended to include five years of tuition, though this is subject to many exceptions arising from the exigencies of the mission, the withdrawal or discontinuance of students, and deaths. The yearly entries, of course about average the number drafted into the Chinese ministry, or withdrawn for other reasons. The greatest number received in any one year is twelve: twelve students were received in 1880. The greatest number in rooms at any one time was at the beginning of the present year (1908), when twenty-one students were in the College. The total number of students who have entered the Institution since 1871 is one hundred and forty-seven. By far the greater part of our present preaching staff have passed through the Institution. Annual examinations are held. Of those who entered in 1871, but two remain in active work, Pastor (ordained) Li Lien Ch'en and Chu Hua San. Tso K'o Ch'eng (ordained), has withdrawn from service. It is significant of the growing needs of the mission, with which the Institution hardly keeps pace, that while it was intended originally to train not only preachers, but also catechists and colporteurs, scarcely any students have been available for these two branches of service. In 1878, when the new college buildings were erected, it was made a distinct appointment, and Mr. Hall became its first Principal. It has remained a distinct appointment ever



The first Training Institute, Tientsin.

since, though on three or four occasions, including 1905 to 1908, owing to the slenderness of our foreign staff, it had to be held in conjunction with the superintendence of Tientsin Circuit. The Revs. W. N. Hall, J. Innocent, J. Robinson, G. T. Candlin, J. Hinds and F. B. Turner have at various times been appointed as Principal. Mr. Innocent, of course, served by far the greatest number of years.

In appraising the merit due to the founders of this very important work, the first place must be given to Mr. Hall. He, rather than the subject of this memoir, was the acknowledged and enthusiastic leader in the movement. His warm and ardent nature took up the project, and pressed its claims with unwearying assiduity, not only upon the Missionary Committee, but also upon influential lovers of the Mission throughout the Connexion. The work had already been commenced before his return to England on furlough, and as we have seen, he left with the fixed determination to secure adequate funds for the erection of a college building. Indeed, the project constituted a considerable part of the motive for his return to England. To a very busy furlough he added the onerous task of collecting the necessary subscriptions. "So effective were his appeals," says *Our Mission in China*, "that a total sum of £3,208 was collected." Part of this amount appears to have been raised in Canada and America as Mr. Hall was on his way home. The bulk was raised in England, and the great success of his effort must have made the indefatigable collector a happy man. He was a happy man in another sense too, for he married Miss Moore, of Hanley, an excellent lady, who was prepared to come out with him to China, and before he left we find him exulting, in a letter

written to Mr. Innocent, with a glee sufficient to warm anybody's heart, over "our baby, the most wonderful baby that ever was." Happy man! To come back laden, as he did in the early autumn of 1876, with a three-fold treasure, a wife, a new-born son, and £3,208 with which to build the College he had put his heart inside of before ever it was built. The ground had already been purchased by his colleague, a wall had been built enclosing it. It was on the British Concession, not two minutes' walk from the old Compound. Now for plans and specifications, and let us get about the erection of the long-dreamed-of structure with all speed. We have seen it long enough in vision, let us at length have a look at it in solid bricks and mortar. It was planned with the royal bounty which his soul loved. There was an attractive front opening to Taku Road, a large class-room divided by folding doors from a more spacious chapel, there were dormitories for at least twenty students, there was a beautiful house for the Principal's residence; on the south front, an excellent Chinese Tutor's house; on the west, an extra study for the Principal's use, a room for a College Library, and even a set of rooms for country missionaries to use when visiting Tientsin. It was completed in the early spring of 1878, and good judges pronounced it the best thing of its kind in all China.

It will fall to us to notice later the erection of a Girls' School on this same plot of ground. But we may note here that the whole of this property was sold in 1896. By this time Old Union Church had come into our hands, and in 1897 class-rooms and dormitories were erected adjoining it for the students, and the Institution removed to the old Compound, with Union Church as the Institution chapel.

Mr. Chang appointed Tutor

It is needless to say that in the carrying out of this scheme Mr. Innocent took a deep interest. If not the principal and leader, he made a splendid second. That, indeed, was the distinguishing feature of our two senior missionaries in all their relations. They did not always agree in opinion, but so cordial was their mutual esteem, that what the one did the other was sure to second, and to second so heartily that he made the work his own. We have seen that Mr. Innocent was equally associated with Mr. Hall in the work of training preachers in the inadequate premises where it was begun. A letter written to the Secretary in November, 1872, describing the School, shows his deep interest in it. While Mr. Hall was collecting the money he bought the land and enclosed it in readiness for the buildings. It was with equal joy that he witnessed this consummation of their efforts. We shall have to relate how soon Mr. Hall was removed from this work he loved so well. It fell to Mr. Innocent to take it up, and for the next seven years, until the time of his second furlough in 1885, to carry on the work of teaching and training for which provision had been made. Two subsequent appointments, 1889 and 1890, and again from 1893 to 1897, raise his years of service at the Institution to a total of thirteen years.

But if we would see the hand of divine and providential guidance specially manifest, we must look for it in the appointment of the Chinese Tutor. Selected for the post on its first inception in 1865, the service he rendered was remarkably able, prolonged and nobly devoted. So far as the Principal's appointment is concerned, the work changed hands too much and too capriciously. It was the Tutor's continued service through all changes which saved the situation, and made

him the strong pillar of the edifice. From 1865 to 1907, a term of forty-two years—which had but one significant break, when he was dangerously ill, and, because it seemed impossible for him to recover in Tientsin, was sent to Tangshan, where he lay for months very near to the gates of death—he continued as Tutor. At that time there was an intermission of a year and a half, but he resumed his post after the Boxer storm was over. Mr. Chang is with us still, and “Not on our own mission alone, but among all the missions in Tientsin, he stands confessedly as the last and best—perhaps therefore kept until the last—of the old, original band, who ‘greatly dared,’ when to be singular for Christ’s sake was to be infamous. Solitary and pre-eminent, he is the sole remaining representative of those ‘who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word.’”

Mr. Chang was superannuated in 1907. The following testimony appeared in the Report on his retirement:

“Chang Ch’ih San has now been for years the universally acknowledged father of, not our own Church only, but all the Christian Churches in Tientsin. He was one of the earliest of our Tientsin converts, has been with us from the beginning, and is now the sole remaining figure that typifies for us the stalwart days of the past. He has been at the College from its infancy when he was a young man, and with insignificant breaks, on account of health, has always been in charge as Chinese Tutor. He has had more to do with the formation and moulding of our Ministry than all others put together. Nearly every single man in the ranks has been his pupil, and loves him, and is beloved by him. The question on all sides will be, How shall we do without him?”

"Mr. Chang has a most unique, a most winning personality. As a man his most marked characteristic is his wonderful modesty. As a Christian, his prevailing quality is devotion and sincerity. A thorough scholar, an accomplished author, a sound theologian, with solid and varied attainments, he is evangelistic to the core. His life has been blameless and beautiful, spent in never-slackening service. In him is the strong, bright spark of genius which transforms this reticent man, painfully silent and slow in private conversation, into an eloquent and electrifying preacher. He has been one of the most gifted preachers the New Connexion ministry has ever had.

"Mr. Chang on his retirement carries with him our love and reverence, our warmest good wishes, and prayers that the evening of his life may be set about with comfort and with holy grace; and his name will always be one of the great traditions of the work which is his monument in our midst."

The question of his successor was anxiously debated, and the Rev. N. S. Li, ordained that year, was appointed to take his place. Pastor Li bids fair to be in all respects a worthy successor.

Since the above lines were written, somewhat suddenly and unexpectedly Chang Chi'h San has been called away from us. While visiting in Tientsin in the late autumn of 1908, he was taken ill. At first it was thought to be malaria, but after a three weeks' illness, during which he grew worse and worse, it was discovered to be an abscess of the liver. He was operated upon, and the doctor thought he might recover, but two days afterwards, on Tuesday, November 17th, 1908, he passed away. In his last hours, though aware his end was near, he was very calm and content. "I know

John Innocent

all, I am at peace" were among his last words. His death removes a great veteran preacher and teacher, one of the chiefest ornaments of the Mission.

At the Yung P'ing District Meeting in 1906, a most important proposal of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America was laid before the meeting. It was that we should unite with that Mission in the work of theological training, and remove the College to Peking, to be carried on under our joint management in conjunction with their work in the Peking University. The offers our American brethren made were generous in the extreme, and the union was admitted by all to be eminently desirable, but serious difficulties, chiefly the lack of funds to effect our part of the scheme, stood in the way, and a negative reply was given by the Conference of 1907. There is still the possibility that negotiations may be renewed, and by the desired union a greater future may be opened for the Institution.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FAMINE SCENES AND DEATH OF MR. HALL.

THIS must be a sad chapter. We will, therefore, try to make it short. It shall also contain something of a cheering character.

In 1873 an attempt was made to enter Ching Hai Hsien, a large town on the Grand Canal, and about 25 miles on our way to Lao Ling. That it lay on our road to Shantung was the chief motive for entering it. But the place was very hostile, and after nearly a year of useless effort it was given up; and it is now occupied by the A.B.C.F. Mission. This was *not* cheering.

But in 1875 came very cheerful news of an opening of great promise in the city of Yang Hsin. Yang Hsin is a district city lying thirty-three miles east of Chu Chia, and therefore that much farther away from Tientsin. This new opening was brought to Mr. Innocent's notice during the month of July, while in Tientsin, and the scene of our narrative once more shifts to the Lao Ling field. In October, 1875, Mr. Innocent visited Lao Ling, and writing from Chu Chia he gives an account of the opening at Yang Hsin. It appears that one of our Ts'ang Shang members, named Su, had for two years been in the habit of paying frequent visits to some friends of his who lived in a village near the city. He had spoken with them about the religion of Jesus Christ; they had been greatly impressed by what he had to say, and he began to hold nightly meetings in one of their houses for Scripture reading and conversa-

tion. One of their number being in Tientsin about July, 1875, took back a quantity of Christian books, which they commenced reading. Soon from twenty to thirty persons were joined together in these exercises. Mr. Innocent went over with Mr. Hu to visit them, when he found "as many as a hundred people who sat around the court yard (room too small) until late to hear the story of the Cross." The same year Mr. Hodge visited Yang Hsin and baptized fifteen converts. One or two zealous and enterprising members, who had business relations in the city, voluntarily rented premises in the central street. There was some opposition, cities being much more hostile than villages, but it was overcome. Within a year or two Yang Hsin became a stronger church than Chu Chia, and round the central city a large group of small stations sprung up. A cause at Shang Chia Tien, ten miles away, was particularly prosperous, and another at Cheng Chia, thirteen miles in another direction, scarcely less so. In all essential respects the movement was as genuine and widespread as the "awakening" at Chu Chia nine years before, though not attended by the same romantic interest. Mr. Innocent took a keen interest in this extension of our Shantung field and induced young Tso K'o Ch'eng, who had finished his education in the College, to go out with his grandfather and take charge of this new section. Sun Tzü Ch'un, a converted opium sot, did magnificent work for some years at Shang Chia Tien. He was a Tientsin man, who had been brought under Mr. Innocent's notice, starving and near to death from indulgence in opium. Sun was a man of great natural sagacity, and served the mission with distinction for twenty years. He died at Tientsin in 1901. The work thus began at Yang Hsin has grown to larger dimen-

sions than any other part of the mission field ; the Chan Hua district, still further east, and running up at Pin Chou, close to the Yellow River, was taken over and added to it in 1880, and together they constitute our Wuting Circuit, a circuit embracing seven or eight district cities with a membership (1908) of 1,051 members and 613 probationers. Wuting is the departmental city, and is situated thirteen miles south-west of Yang Hsin.

In 1877 a calamity hitherto unknown on the mission overtook our Shantung churches. A great and terrible famine broke out. It began indeed during the latter part of the year 1876. Famine is an evil of periodic occurrence in China, sometimes caused by drought, sometimes by flood. The cause in this instance was drought. The rainy season, a well-defined one, is in July and August. Rain is often torrential for days together. But for three years instead of rain came wild, fierce winds which prevented the clouds from breaking, and scattered them as fast as they gathered. The burning hot sun, shining direct from the central heaven, baked and dried the soil, until, when the wind blew, it rose in clouds of dust ; the crops parched and withered, stood in the fields stunted and shrivelled, a ghostly mockery of harvest, like Pharaoh's—"empty cars and blasted with the east wind." The famine was widespread, embracing several provinces in its sweep, and its ravages were indescribable. In 1875 there had been no harvest, in 1876 it was the same, and the black horrors of what has since been known as "The great Famine" began. When no rain came in 1877, the state of things was awful. To quote Mr. Innocent's words:—

"The drought was first noticed in Shantung in the fall of 1875. During 1876 it assumed a more pronounced form in the four provinces of Shantung,

Chihli, Honan, and Shansi. In 1877 it was a widespread, disastrous famine, embracing some millions of people within its iron grip. An earnest appeal for funds for the relief of the sufferers in North Shantung was made to foreign residents in Tientsin, Peking and other parts, by Mr. Hall, and a most liberal response followed. A thousand dollars were subscribed. Further sums from Shanghai came in 1877, and were distributed by our missionaries in Lao Ling, Yang Hsin, and Chan Hua districts, also in Ningching. This work necessarily interfered with their ordinary work, and prevented our sending a representative to the Shanghai Conference of 1877.

"It was found in January, 1878, that Shansi had been the greatest sufferer. Thousands of people were perishing daily from actual starvation. This led to further appeals. Committees were organized in London, Shanghai, Chefoo and Tientsin for the management of relief funds. Large sums were received from various quarters, chiefly from London, amounting to £48,303.

"This money had to be distributed chiefly by missionaries. The work was arduous, and dangerous in the extreme, and was one long harrowing experience. An epidemic broke out, and between famine, and famine fever, the desolation was appalling. The task of relief lasted for several months. From ten to thirteen millions of people were computed to have perished in this famine. In one prefecture alone it is said that out of a population of 1,000,000 only 160,000 were left."

The famine may be said to have cost us the lives of two out of the three workers we had in China in the beginning of 1877. Mr. Innocent fortunately escaped, but Mr. Hodge returned from the famine field with his

health completely shattered. He lingered an invalid for several months. By the summer of 1878 it was evident that he must return home.

The loss of Mr. Hodge was a great blow to the mission. "His memory," says Mr. Innocent, "is fondly cherished among many of the Chinese Christians to this day." He had been a devoted worker, in spite of misfortune and ill-health. He is reported to have been by much the more capable Chinese speaker of our three elder missionaries. He began to preach after being nine months in China. He understood and appreciated the Chinese character in a marked degree, and had his life been spared would have done excellent work for the church.

But the blow which struck consternation in all hearts was the sudden death of Mr. Hall. Typhus was raging on the famine field, and it dogged the steps of those who returned from the work. There were nine such cases, and six out of the nine were fatal. Both Mr. and Mrs. Hall were laid prostrate with it. Mrs. Hall was seized first, but fortunately she did not succumb. It must have been in the month of April that she was taken ill. Within a few days, while occupied in the tender and mournful task of nursing her, Mr. Hall himself was stricken. The experiences of the famine field had greatly reduced his strength. He had no reserve of physical vigour with which to fight the fell disease, and on the fourteenth of May, while Mrs. Hall still lay prostrate in the same house, all unconscious of his condition, he passed away in the fiftieth year of his age. Mr. Innocent was still out in Lao Ling when his colleague was taken ill. He hastened home, but was too late to witness his end.

"As I entered the gate, a servant met me with the

John Innocent

sad tidings, 'You are too late.' Alas, it was too true, my beloved brother had sunk hours before. I am overwhelmed.

No wonder! They had been friends from their youth up. They had worked as brothers for nineteen years in the same holy calling. China could never again be quite the same to him, now that his large-hearted, tender-spirited comrade was gone. Grief and sympathy have rarely been so vividly expressed as in the letter he wrote to Dr. Stacey relating the story of the funeral. Referring to Mrs. Hall, lying ill and unaware of what was transpiring, he says:

"To take the coffin I say, past her door and out of the house, and she not know—not to tell her that we were taking him away from her—that she would never see his face again. How *hard* it was! As I assisted to bear the head of that coffin through the passage of that house I felt as though my heart-strings would break. It seemed so cruel to her, so strange to all of us. The Chinese teachers and students carried him, first to the Lecture Hall of the New Institution building, where Messrs. Hodge and Lees conducted a short and impressive service—then to the cemetery, where he was placed in the same grave with his first wife, and it was my solemn task in his case as in hers, to commit the body to the dust."

A flat stone slab marks the spot where he lies in the cemetery ground at Tientsin with John Robinson lying close beside, and on the wall of Old Union Church is a marble tablet, with the following inscription:—

"Sacred to the Memory of

"The Rev. William Nelthorpe Hall.

"Born in Sheffield, April 19th, 1829. Died in Tientsin,
May 14th, 1878.



William Nelthorpe Hall.

"After a ministry of eight years in England, he came to China in 1859, and settled in Tientsin in 1861, as one of the first missionaries of the Methodist New Connexion.

"Endowed with rare qualifications for a pastor, he was earnest, faithful and successful; and the strong attachment of his people followed him to this remote field, undiminished by distance and the lapse of time.

"As a missionary, enthusiastic and persevering, his broad charity, ready sympathy, and warm affection won the hearts of all who knew him, and made a deep and abiding impression upon the people for whom he gave his life.

"The memory of the lovely graces which adorned his character, and of the sweet fragrance of his Christian life, remains as a precious legacy to his friends, by whom this Tablet is erected."

Mr. Hodge all this time was laid aside from work, and as soon as Mrs. Hall was sufficiently recovered preparations were made for their return home. On the 2nd of October, 1878, he and his wife, accompanied by the widowed Mrs. Hall, and her children, took steamer in Tientsin for England. A new phase of Mr. Hodge's sickness showed itself on the passage, and he died shortly after his arrival in England.

TABLE.

Showing the Statistical Returns of the Mission at intervals of five years.

Dates.	Circuits.			Chapels.	Members.	Probationers.	Schools.	Scholars.
1866	Tientsin ...	...	...	3	24	7	—	—
1871	Tientsin ...	...	...	4	41	5	—	—
	Laoling ...	...	...	5	123	25	—	—
1876	Tientsin ...	...	...	5	72	10	1	6
	Laoling ...	...	...	9	220	23	3	23
	Yangshin ...	...	...	1	13	15	—	—
1881	Tientsin ...	...	...	5	81	23	1	13
	Laoling ...	...	...	43	910	195	9	114
	Chanhua ...	...	...	10	100	10	1	13
1886	Tientsin ...	...	...	5	87	3	1	43
	Laoling ...	...	...	46	969	125	10	75
	Chanhua ...	...	...	4	92	27	2	20
	Yangshin ...	...	...	4	28	10	1	8
1891	Tientsin ...	...	...	6	102	9	3	66
	Laoling ...	...	...	49	1232	488	18	136
	Tangshan ...	...	...	6	56	33	—	—
1896	Tientsin ...	...	...	5	124	22	4	61
	Laoling ...	...	...	46	1320	326	24	273
	Tangshan ...	...	...	10	174	136	6	63
1901	Tientsin ...	...	...	13	215	52	—	—
	Laoling ...	...	...	160	1873	799	—	—
	Tangshan ...	...	...	44	510	425	—	—
1906	Tientsin ...	...	...	11	192	43	—	—
	Laoling ...	...	...	66	759	412	12	166
	Wuting ...	...	...	83	969	774	24	261
	Tangshan ...	...	...	35	599	221	7	87
	Yungping ...	...	...	18	217	144	1	12
1903	Tientsin ...	...	...	19	210	56	—	—
	Laoling ...	...	...	68	874	375	16	182
	Wuting ...	...	...	82	1051	613	26	325
	Tangshan ...	...	...	38	647	133	4	37
	Yungping ...	...	...	20	338	133	2	35

TOTALS.

Dates	...	1866	1871	1876	1881	1886	1891	1896	1901	1906	1903
Chapels	...	3	9	15	58	59	61	89	217	213	213
Members	...	24	164	305	1091	1176	1390	1618	2598	2736	3120
Probationers	...	7	30	53	228	165	530	484	1276	1594	1310
Schools	...	—	—	4	11	14	21	34	—	44	48
Scholars	...	—	—	35	140	146	252	402	—	526	579

PART III.

From the Commencement of Residence in the Interior to the Death of Mr. Innocent, 1878 to 1904.

CHAPTER XIX.

RESIDENCE IN THE INTERIOR WITH FOUNDING OF MEDICAL MISSIONS.

THE position in which the mission was placed immediately after the death of Mr. Hall was a singularly difficult one, and afforded a crucial test of Mr. Innocent's capacity to grapple with an emergency. He was, it is true, already reinforced, and as happened in 1866, the reinforcements arrived in the very nick of time.

The Conference of 1876 had determined to send out two new missionaries, one of whom was to be a medical man. The Rev. J. Robinson, of Stourbridge, had served with unusual acceptability for nine years in the English ministry, and had volunteered for China. He was sent out with his family in the autumn of 1877, and arrived in Shanghai, October 12th, whence he proceeded at once to Tientsin. It was intended that he should be accompanied by Mr. D. Stenhouse, a young man who was just completing his medical course in the Edinburgh Medical Mission School. But Dr. Stenhouse's departure was delayed until the next year. During this year he married Miss Worrell, of Arnold,

John Innocent

in the Nottingham Circuit, the daughter of one of our old and esteemed members there. The Missionary Committee, in the meantime, had issued a circular appealing for more volunteers. The Rev. G. T. Candlin, then in the Hull Circuit, and the Rev. J. Hinds, who was in London, had responded. On receiving telegraphic news of Mr. Hall's death, the Committee decided on sending Mr. Candlin at once, and, in the autumn of 1878, he joined Dr. Stenhouse and his newly-married wife in London, whence they sailed by the s.s. "Gleneagles" for China, and arrived in Tientsin, September 21st, 1878. Mr. Hinds followed in 1879.

Notwithstanding these reinforcements, for the practical working of the mission, Mr. Innocent was alone. It is true that at the beginning of October, 1878, there were four other missionaries in Tientsin. But two of these had but just landed. Mr. Hodge, broken in health, was just leaving, and Mr. Robinson had been in China barely a year. Mr. Innocent's three new colleagues were young and raw; and on the old veteran's shoulders, for the next two or three years, the burden of the whole work must rest. He met the emergency with courageous devotion. By the middle of the month he was on the canal escorting the three brethren to take up their residence at Chu Chia.

Now at length was realized the long-deferred project of permanent residence in the interior, which had been in contemplation since 1866. It was, in fact, commenced then; for Mr. Innocent's own removal to Shantung in 1867 was no doubt at the time intended to be permanent, but he was overruled by circumstances. That for a space of more than ten years it had not been resumed is accounted for, partly by the inadequacy of the mission staff, the interposition of fur-

loughs, the disturbances of the Nien Fei, the Tientsin massacre and the famine, and the want of suitable houses. A new house, however, had been built at Chu Chia, and a second was in contemplation. While the Institution was being built at Tientsin, the missionary residence in Chu Chia divided with the severe work of famine relief the care of Mr. Innocent and his colleague. On arrival, Mr. Robinson occupied the newly-built house, taking in Mr. Candlin, who was then single, as a lodger. The Chinese building, which had served Mr. Innocent as a residence in former times, and had been used all along by the missionaries on their frequent visits, was still in our possession, and was occupied by Dr. Stenhouse. A new house was built for him the next year. Mr. Innocent stayed with the young missionaries long enough to induct them into such work as they could undertake. He visited a number of the outlying stations, and then returned to take charge of the work in Tientsin, leaving them to learn the language, and the duty of superintending an already widely-extending Circuit, and a considerable staff of Chinese preachers. There was always the veteran Hu, who had for years had general oversight of the country work, to fall back on for counsel, so far as their limited knowledge of the language enabled them to understand it. Mr. Innocent was out again in the spring for District meeting, and visit to Yang Hsin.

The thought of founding a medical mission had been in Mr. Innocent's mind almost from the time of his arrival in Tientsin. The idea was broached in the "Missionary Chronicle," January, 1863. At the time when General (then Captain) Gordon was wont to solicit his attention to soldiers in hospital, there were also a dispensary and wards for Chinese

John Innocent

patients supported by army officers and merchants, conducted by Dr. Lamprey, and, on the withdrawal of the troops, Mr. Innocent was anxious that this work should be continued. But he met with no encouragement from the Missionary Committee, and it was allowed to cease, which, says he "was a matter of great regret." Again, in 1864, the S.P.G., which had opened a medical mission in Peking, suddenly decided to close it, and the medical missionary, Dr. Stuart, offered his services to our mission.

"He offered to serve our mission as a (much-needed) medical missionary, but much to our regret we had not the authority, as our Board at the time had not the means for engaging his services. So a second time a grand opportunity for establishing this most important branch of mission work in Tientsin was missed."

One hardly dares to let his imagination run free in fancying what "might have been" if we had then led the way in medical mission work at Tientsin. No less than fourteen years had to pass before Mr. Innocent could realize his ideal. Much has been said on the necessity of medical men getting a thorough knowledge of Chinese before beginning to practice at all. Two years at least before you see your first patient is about the notion. Dr. Stenhouse saw his first patient the morning after he arrived at his post. Mr. Innocent acted as interpreter. He was a patient nearly at the point of death, but the doctor pulled him through. That was the beginning, and he went on from that time. It is true the doctor never became a great Chinese scholar, and his knowledge of the written character was slender, but he could read his New Testament, and certainly his acquaintance with spoken Chinese was not injured by his injudicious conduct in starting work so soon.

The medical work was carried on in very poor buildings, mud-built hovels, in fact, for some years, but very good work was done, much suffering relieved; the Hospital soon acquired a reputation, and people came to it from far and wide. It drew numbers to our fellowship, and was the occasion of openings for Christian work being offered us in not a few places. The following from Dr. Stenhouse's own pen, which appeared in the Report for 1879, must have been written but little more than four months after his arrival:—

“During the last two months of the year (1878) I did not keep an account of the number of visits paid to our temporary dispensary, but since the beginning of the year I have done so, and have to report that during January and February 145 persons presented themselves for treatment, which, during the two months, made 347 visits, an average of nine visits daily. Most of these were surgical, and required careful dressing every visit. At least 95 per cent have been cures.”

The Hospital soon became so busy that the doctor had his hands full. In a few years' time he was reporting 4,000 and 5,000 visits. Three years after the commencement of his work, Dr. Stenhouse got his much-needed Dispensary. A new plot of ground was purchased by the mission, and it was erected in the autumn of 1881. It was a very modest building, and cost about £150. Part of the cost was subscribed by friends in Tientsin. The money was begged by Mr. Innocent.

Dr. Stenhouse's own opinion of it is given in the following words:—

“The building, of course, is not very imposing. Still

John Innocent

it consists of six rooms, four of which are large, two small. Two of the larger rooms are used as waiting-rooms; the other two are employed, one as a drug-room, the other as consulting-room. The two small rooms are for the reception of patients who need prolonged and watchful attention. It is purely native in style, substantially built, and, with ordinary care, will last a lifetime."

But the "ordinary care" was wanting, and in the month of August, 1882, this building, with drugs, furniture and surgical instruments, was completely destroyed by fire. This was only one year after its erection. The doctor himself had a narrow escape from serious injury. The communities of Tientsin, Taku and Tangshan showed much sympathy, and liberally contributed to the restoration of the building. Friends in England, and in Edinburgh, also sent contributions. It was re-erected in a much improved and more substantial way in 1883. A valuable addition to the Medical Institution was made in 1889 when two large hospital wards, providing beds for thirty or forty people, and an operation-room were added. A Women's Ward was erected later. These buildings stood until 1900, when, of course, they were razed to the ground. Greatly improved buildings were erected out of indemnity funds, which were not completed until 1905.

In 1884, a valuable suggestion was made by Mr. Innocent for relieving the mission funds from a large part of the cost of this work. A committee was formed of resident officials and merchants in Tientsin, and members of the mission staff, for the separate management of the work, and it was decided that the entire working expenses, instruments, medicines, furniture, repairs and salaries of Chinese should be provided by

Ordination of First Native Pastor

a special fund raised locally. Mr. Innocent's great influence with residents in Tientsin enabled us to inaugurate this scheme with success. Over Tls 1,000 (£150) is now subscribed annually, which, considering that most of the subscribers never saw the Hospital, is a remarkable testimony to the liberality of the port. Dr. Stenhouse returned to England in 1885. Circumstances of a domestic nature prevented his resuming work in China, and there was a period of nearly three years during which Mr. Candlin and his family were alone in Shantung. During this period the Dispensary work was carried on under Mr. Candlin's superintendence by Mr. Lu Tien Chih, a Chinese assistant to Dr. Stenhouse. In 1887, Dr. W. W. Shrubshall was appointed as Dr. Stenhouse's successor.

An event of special interest, which occurred in 1880, was the ordination of our first native pastor. When the policy of making large use of a Chinese ministry was adopted the question naturally arose whether the evangelists should be ordained. But it was universally felt that ordination was an act of a peculiarly sacred character, and that in the existing conditions of mission work it should not be lightly entered on. We have in fact been very chary of ordaining men, and have only done it when remarkable devotion, as well as outstanding ability, appeared to justify the step. Let it be distinctly understood, then, that *as a rule* our Chinese staff of preachers are trained in the College as in England, pass a four years' probation as in England, undergoing a written course of examination, and providing a written sermon each year. But they are not ordained at the end of that term. They go into "full Connexion" without the laying-on of hands. Only in special cases are men ordained. In fact from the be-

ginning, up to the present, we have ordained five men only—Hu Ngen Ti, Chang Ch'ih San, Tso K'o Ch'eng, Li Lien Ch'ên and Li Ngan Su. The Congregational Churches in China have an excellent practice of ordaining Chinese pastors as soon as a Church can be formed to call them to its ministry and provide the whole of their salary. It were to be wished that we could adopt some such principle, but our itinerating system somewhat interferes with such a course.

It was a happy circumstance that the first evangelist employed by the mission was the first (though after nearly twenty years of labour) to be ordained. Hu Ngen Ti was abundantly worthy of the honour. The ceremony took place at Chu Chia in the month of May, 1880. Service was held in the new chapel which had just been built. It was the first chapel erected by the mission in Shantung, a large, strongly-built edifice. Mr. Innocent puts it mildly when he says it was "destitute of all architectural pretensions." There was a door at the east end for men, and another at the west end for women. A wooden partition divided the building into two equal halves. This partition was only about seven feet high, so that by placing the platform on the side of the building, with the partition running from the front of the platform, while the two halves of the congregation were completely screened from each other, they presented themselves as one assembly to the preacher. After the Boxer outbreak a much more attractive chapel was built.

Mr. Innocent made a special journey from Tientsin to take part in Mr. Hu's ordination. He was accompanied by the Rev. J. Lees and Pastor Chang, of the London Mission, who were to take part in the ceremony. Service was held in the morning. The Rev. J.

Robinson, who was in charge of the Circuit, put the usual questions. Mr. Lees offered the Invocatory Prayer during the laying-on of hands, and Mr. Innocent delivered the Charge. In the afternoon another service was held when Pastor Chang, L.M.S., preached a sermon on the duty of the Church to its minister. Much interest was shown, and we are told that: "Mr. Hu was greatly moved on the occasion, and seemed to realize the solemn responsibilities of the sacred office he was undertaking."

But, alas, shortly after his ordination this noble and aged worker was laid aside by sickness. Only eight months later he was called to a higher ministry. Hu Ngen Ti died on Sunday evening, January 2nd, 1881, at an advanced age. His last words, placing his hand on his heart, were: "All is peace here."

Hu was emphatically one of our makers, a worthy builder in the Church at Tientsin in the early days. A worthy builder in the wide field of Shantung, where, under his patriarchal care (for he stood as a patriarch among the country people), so many churches sprang up. He was a shrewd man. The first time he saw the present writer, in 1878, he undertook to examine him in Chinese, though he had only been three weeks in the country. Say *shih to'u*; say *jih to'u*; say *she to'u*. That was all, but it was a keen test. They are about the worst three words in the language for a foreigner to pronounce. His loss was greatly mourned.

It was about this time (1880) that Chan Hua District was handed over to us by the London Mission. They had been working there from Peking for a number of years, and had baptized about 600 people. But the work was unsatisfactory for various reasons, and as it immediately adjoined our Shantung Mission they com-

mitted it to our care. We have seen that Yang Hsin lies thirty-three miles to the east of Chu Chia: Chan Hua, with its chief station at Ta Ma Li Chia, lies nearly as much farther in a direct line through Yang Hsin from Chu Chia. The region is a very impoverished one, almost a wilderness, with wide stretches of poor land, infertile and liable to floods from the Yellow River, which runs through it. The water of its wells is brackish and almost undrinkable. Immediately it was handed over in 1880, Mr. Innocent, accompanied by Mr. Robinson, visited the stations, and inspected them. The result, on the whole, was discouraging. Out of the 600 converts baptized not one-third could be found.

The Church at Ta Ma Li Chia was, however, a live Church. There was a large but unfinished chapel which had been built under somewhat romantic circumstances. So complete had been the turning to Christianity in the village that *every family* had given up idolatry. In China most of the temples belong to the villagers, and the population of Ta Ma Li Chia, by a sort of communistic act, had pulled down their temple, provided a decent burying-place for the mud idols, and transferred the materials of the temple to a new site, using them to build a Christian sanctuary. In all there were from fifteen to twenty mission stations, but Ta Ma Li Chia was the chief place.

On the return of Messrs. Innocent and Robinson, Pastor Hu undertook a visit to Chan Hua District, spending six weeks there, and on his return presented a careful report of his impressions. This visit was the most serious work done by Mr. Hu after his ordination. He returned to Chu Chia ill, and never quite recovered. Messrs. Candlin and Hinds made a visit somewhat later, and reported only 100 members in the whole district.

Openings at Taku and Hsing Chi

There was at first an idea of missionary residence at Chan Hua, but the topographical conditions completely negated the step. The Chan Hua stations are more encouraging at the present time, and form an important part of Wuting Circuit carrying its work to the banks of the Yellow River.

It was during the period covered by the events narrated in this chapter that two stations were opened in the Tientsin Circuit to which Mr. Innocent devoted much attention.

Taku is interesting as a very large fishing village at the mouth of the Pei-ho. Its importance is now very greatly increased by the railway from Tientsin to Tang Ku, which is less than three miles from Taku. From the very early days, Mr. Innocent, and others, had been accustomed to visit and preach there, at one time to soldiers, and afterwards to the pilots who have a settlement there. But in 1876 a generous lay friend undertook the cost of renting a building to be used as a Chinese chapel, and also paid the preacher's salary. This was the commencement of our small church in Taku. In 1880, the church was persecuted by a military mandarin who took it upon himself to forbid several soldiers, who were members, to attend Christian worship. Rather than comply, one or two of them left the camp.

Hsing Chi, which lies on the Grand Canal, about half way on our journey to Shantung, was opened in 1878. It is a very large, straggling town with a very considerable population, and at that time there were ten or a dozen camps (with 500 men in each camp) resident there. For a long time, though daily preaching was conducted in a small chapel in the street, we met with but little success. But some time in the early eighties,

John Innocent

one of the worthiest, though one of the least educated, of our preachers, was stationed there, Mr. Li Hsiang Ting, whose home was at Taku. Mr. Li commenced visiting the camps and preaching to the soldiers, who soon began to come to church. Quite a large number of them were baptized, and at one time we had at Hsing Chi quite a strong society made up almost entirely of soldiers of the new army, which was being organized and drilled according to Western methods, in the north. But in 1885 the camps were moved to Liaotung, and we were unable to follow them up. Hsing Chi has had varying fortunes, and is now a Church of about twenty members.

In 1882, on Sunday, February 19th, one of our oldest native preachers passed away who should have a place in our gallery of Chinese worthies. Mr. Shen Chih Fu was baptized in 1868. He had been formerly a teacher with the Rev. J. Doolittle, of the American Board Mission. Soon after joining us, he was appointed as a school teacher. From that time onward he had been employed in various capacities in connection with the mission. On the arrival of the Rev. J. Hinds, he was appointed as his teacher. He was a Tientsin man, who could not be induced to leave Tientsin, and, on Mr. Hinds' removal to Shantung, Mr. Shen was made teacher of Mrs. Innocent's classes. For two years he united this work with assistance at the daily preaching at the city chapels. He was not a very old man at the time of his death, but he had been ailing for twelve months, and at length succumbed to a severe attack of dysentery. He died a truly Christian death.

CHAPTER XX.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF GIRLS' SCHOOL AND WOMEN'S WORK.

MR. INNOCENT BEREAVED OF HIS ELDEST DAUGHTER.

WE had intended to offer remarks of a somewhat extended character on the peculiar position of woman in China before entering upon the subject of this chapter. The topic is an interesting one to those who would understand the sociological conditions of the country, sufficiently interesting for a chapter, or for a complete treatise, for that matter, all to itself. But space limits absolutely forbid it, and our readers must, perforce, seek such information elsewhere. It must suffice here to point out that in an Empire, the civilization of which is pronouncedly Eastern in cast, where the female sex are expected to live a life of great seclusion, are formally treated as inferiors, and invariably spoken of in terms of disparity, and where the evils of society bear especially hard upon them, the sex question not only presents a totally different aspect from what it does in countries where woman's suffrage is the subject of agitation, but also has most important bearings on the work of evangelization among them, rendering a special kind of agency, having the character of a Zenana Mission, an absolute necessity. In China concubinage is practised, especially among the upper classes. Until recently no attempt has been

made to educate women, the prevailing sentiment being strongly against it; girl slavery is very frequent, the sale of women is tolerated, the cruel practice of infanticide is almost exclusively confined to females, and the foolish vanity of women themselves clings fondly to the ridiculous, crippling, and injurious habit of foot-binding. Women, and especially young women, are not supposed to be seen on the street, or in the market, or to mix with men in public gatherings. These conditions of life are not only profoundly interesting in themselves, but they have a radical effect in determining the methods by which work among the women in China must be pursued if it is to be successful. An understanding of them is necessary.

There is one other fact of even greater importance than all these limitations and disabilities under which the women of China lie, and which must never be left out of sight. Women are more religious-minded than men. It is often remarked that in England itself women attend the services, and work for the church, with far more zeal than men. This has its counterpart in China. Not all the disadvantages under which women labour, have power to hinder the fact that in religious exercises they are by far the more earnest. They are, in fact, the mainstay of the religions of China, and especially of all idolatrous practices. If it may be said that in the congregations of most Christian Churches there are two women present to one man, it may be said that in the exercises of heathen temples, incense-burning, paper-burning, kotowing, ten women may be seen engaged to one man. The idols would have crumbled in their shrines, the temples have fallen into ruins long ago, but for the women. To convert the women of China is, therefore, to convert, not the half, but by

much the "better half" of China. Whether we ascribe the leading place which women take in religious movements to a superior religious endowment, or to a stronger tendency to superstition, the lesson is much the same. If the former, it is of first necessity to enlist the higher religious nature in the cause of Christ; if the latter, their religious education becomes the more clamant necessity.

The need for special work among women was very early recognized on the mission. We have seen that in the early sixties (1862) Mrs. Innocent made a commencement in Girls' School work with the little waif from Suchow and others. Mrs. Innocent's interest in her Chinese sisters continued unabated throughout her life in China. She was a devoted student of the language, and her husband has been known to say she knew her Chinese characters better than himself. Mrs. Hu was baptized in 1863, and became an ardent worker with Mrs. Innocent in the cause of women. In 1865 Mr. Hall pointed out, in the "Missionary Chronicle" the great necessity for a specially organized agency. In the Report for 1878 references are made to the subject both by Mr. Innocent and by Mr. Hall, the more notable in the latter case as that was the year of his death. Mr. Hall records the fact that "two day schools for girls have been instituted, both of which are succeeding admirably." He adds: "A girls' boarding school is a desideratum." An article on the need of a girls' school, from the pen of Mr. Innocent, appeared in the "Chronicle" for November, 1879. Long before this period a number of ladies in England had been accustomed to raise money and provide articles for sale in China to enable Mrs. Innocent to carry on her work. Among these may be named Mrs. T. and Mrs. J. G.

John Innocent

Heaps, Mrs. Hutton, Mrs. Crofts and Miss Holt. Miss Holt's box was looked for eagerly, and its annual arrival was an event on the mission.

But the attempt to open work on a large scale was not made until the year 1880. In that year Mr. Innocent's eldest daughter, Annie Edkins Innocent, the little girl we have seen born in Tientsin long ago, volunteered for service as a lady teacher on the mission. She was a young lady of nineteen years of age, of very attractive appearance, well educated, and of pronounced piety. Miss Innocent had been sent to England for education some five years previous. She was at a school in England at the time when her offer was made to Dr. Stacey, but, shortly after making it, she went to Germany to finish her education. The following is part of a letter written to Dr. Stacey, at this stage, in reply to a communication from him on the subject. Mr. Innocent, whose health was much impaired, had gone to Chefoo to recruit. It was from Chefoo that he wrote:—

“Chefoo, July 2nd, 1880.

“MY DEAR SIR,—Your very tender and generous references to my daughter, in your communication of February 28th, have affected me more than I can describe, and from the delicate way in which you ask me to give you my whole mind on the subject of her coming to China to serve the mission, and your expressed willingness to be of use to both the mission and myself in this matter, I feel that it would be most ungrateful on my part to hold back anything from you. Still, I have considerable hesitation, and now feel some diffidence in dealing with the subject. If I saw you face to face I think I could tell you much more than I can with pen and ink, and do it much more satisfactorily



Miss Annie Edkins Innocent.

too. I have a keen sensibility and shrink from the liability to the charge of place seeking, or seeking to get any undue advantage for my children from my relations to the mission. Such a desire is not in my heart, and the proposal made respecting my beloved daughter did not originate in my mind, was not thought of by me until my daughter herself had several times in her letters expressed her strong desire to help to instruct the women of China on her return to what she always calls her home. My chief desire was to give her an education which would enable her to secure for herself in China, or in England, a comfortable income in case the Lord should call me away. I knew that I could make no provision for her, or for any of my children, and that it was my duty, even at the cost of personal privation, to fit them for standing in the world alone. She, dear girl, has no idea that such was my design, or that on her return to China we should expect her to do anything, but help to teach her younger sister and resume her old place in the home circle. China is her birthplace, Chinese her native tongue, among its people she was reared, her earliest and longest associations are with Tientsin, she had formed friendships with some of the Chinese women who came to our chapel, and to her mother, for Christian instruction. She was familiar with the missionary life in China. When she left she felt that though going to England, her fatherland, she was going to a foreign country—amongst strangers—away from home—such a long way. Ever since she left us she has occasionally corresponded with Mrs. Hu, and other Chinese whom she knew and loved. Thus her heart had clung to China. She tells me that she often finds herself holding fancied conversations with the Chinese, and though she has lost

much of what she knew of their speech she could soon recover her old ease of expression.

"Soon after she joined the school in England she wrote me about her concern for salvation, and that she had found in Christ all that her soul longed for of peace and joy. She gave herself fully to the Saviour, and it is since then that her desire for usefulness on her return to China has sought intelligent and definite shape. She did not put it in any more definite way than that of 'a hope that we would let her help us in our mission work by teaching the women and girls.' This request, repeatedly pressed, led me to think of her becoming a missionary, and writing to ask her opinion and feelings on such a position, she at once replied that 'Nothing would be more in harmony with my feelings, or give me such delight.' It was soon after this that the proposal to establish a Girls' School on the mission was made, and I made the reference in my letter on which your kind remarks are based.

"And now, what is my feeling in this matter? Need I say more than that, if it is God's will, I thankfully give my daughter to His service, and ask the Committee to give her an appointment?"

We need not give more of the letter. It discusses the terms of Miss Innocent's appointment, which were to be the ordinary ones on which ladies come as missionaries on other missions, the only special stipulation being that she should be appointed in the same place as her parents in order that she might live at home.

Miss Innocent's offer was accepted, her appointment was warmly welcomed by our mission circles in China. Schemes were formulated, and rules drawn up for the establishment of this important branch of mission work. Both Mr. and Mrs. Innocent were filled with delight at

the near prospect of being re-united to their much-loved daughter under such delightful circumstances. Mrs. Innocent's pride in her children, and her fond love for them, was peculiarly intense. Her second daughter Kate was still a very young girl to whom the prospect of so soon having her big sister to live with her was a most joyful hope, and added greatly to the joy of both mother and father. Already Mrs. Innocent was full of plans, by subscription lists among her Tientsin friends, by bazaars and sales of work, to raise the whole of the money to build an Institution adequate for the work. It was difficult during those months to enter the Innocent home without being treated to a description of Mrs. Innocent's plans and anticipations, and being required to give money or articles toward the all-important object. Five girls, who were in a school in Shantung, kept by Mrs. Hu, were held in readiness to be sent to Tientsin. All the women in the class gathered at Tientsin were kept busy sewing for the bazaar, and everybody was looking forward to the beginning of Miss Innocent's work as Lady Principal of the Girls' Training Institution with such happy auspices and under her mother's guidance.

Then came a tragic blow which smote cruelly the loving, proud and expectant parents. Letters arrived announcing the sudden illness of the daughter round whom all these bright dreams had woven themselves. She had been seized with threatening symptoms at the school in Germany; the symptoms becoming alarmingly dangerous she was hurriedly transported to England under the care of her brother George, to be nursed by friends of the family. The disease was pronounced to be galloping consumption. Agonizing anxiety held them in suspense for a month or two, then, with be-

wildering swiftness, came the dreadful news that she had succumbed to this dread foe. Their grief was heightened by every circumstance of keen disappointment, of far-away separation, of paralysing helplessness. Few men could have written with such complete resignation as Mr. Innocent did: "At the very time when she was expected to leave England to take up the work for which she had special qualifications and a yearning love, a sudden affliction stayed her steps, and carried her to the grave. For five years she had been absent from her parents, who were longing for her return. But God took her; and they saw her face no more."

It was a blow to the mission as well as to the bereaved parents. Miss Innocent was admirably qualified to carry forward the enterprise for which her own mother had so long and so patiently paved the way, and her last hours showed the devotion with which she was looking forward to her task.

The Rev. W. J. Townsend, D.D., who visited Miss Innocent, when on her sick bed a few days before she passed away, wrote:—

"Her soul glowed with enthusiasm for this work to the very last. I shall never forget her anxious ardour, as with flushed cheek and burning eye she raised her head from her pillow, and said: 'The Committee will still let me go to China, won't it?' 'Yes,' I replied, 'you will still go if the Lord should restore you.' The Lord willed otherwise, and she was taken to the nobler ministrations and activities of the glorified."

Her removal, however, eventually forwarded the work which it temporarily hindered. Her death and her beautiful character influenced her mother to further that work, and provide means for its establishment on

Opening of Girls' School

a solid basis. By painstaking industry and earnest appeals she raised a fund of over £500 for the erection of a school with dormitories and ladies' house attached. It was built on the same piece of land as the Training Institution. Mrs. Innocent was very proud of it, and wrote: "It is just beautiful, and it is called the Annie Edkins Innocent Memorial School."

It was opened nearly ten years later in 1889. In the meantime Miss Waller, a daughter of one of our former ministers, Ralph Waller, was appointed as Miss Innocent's successor, and was placed in charge. This appointment was not a very happy one. Miss Waller would have been an excellent evangelist; she had a remarkable gift of speech, but she was in middle life, and she found the Chinese language too difficult for her to master. Various untoward circumstances led to the school being closed in 1892, Miss Waller being invalided home. It was, however, reopened as a day-school in 1893, Mrs. Robinson and Mrs. Candlin taking joint charge. The urgent needs of the mission led to the sale of the whole property, both of the Training Institute, and the Girls' School, in 1895. Out of the proceeds the amount originally raised for the Girls' School was reserved, and after the Boxer Outbreak had passed, a new school, equal in every respect to the former one, was built in Shantung in 1903. It is now in charge of Miss Annie Turner, sister of the Rev. F. B. Turner, a lady of great scholastic acquirements, and at length we may count with confidence upon its fulfilling the hopes, so long cherished, so often frustrated, to be some day realized. Miss K. Cook is associated with Miss Turner in evangelistic work.

This chapter should not close without special notice of Mrs. Hu. She has been mentioned more than once,

John Innocent

but demands some more distinct tribute from us as the heroine and pioneer, together with Mrs. Innocent, in work for the women of our mission. We have had other women among the Chinese who have done excellent work. Mrs. Tso, the mother of Tso K'o Ch'eng, did good work at Yang Hsin in connection with her son's ministry there. Mrs. Chang Hsiu Ling and Mrs. Chang Hua T'ang, at a later period, when Mrs. Hu was too aged to continue her exertions at Chu Chia, did noble service. Mrs. Ch'ên, though her qualifications are not great, is doing yeoman's service at Tientsin just now. Mrs. Chang Ch'ih San has been a worthy voluntary worker. But none like Mrs. Hu, our first female convert in China. It was owing to her devotion that we were able to keep Pastor Hu so long and so cheerfully in charge of Shantung. Mr. Innocent used to relate, with measureless admiration, how, in the terrible days following the massacre, when no man would face the task, she boldly ventured, again and again, into the city, to seek and comfort our frightened and distressed members, coming back on one occasion, exhausted, with clothes all torn, almost naked, from the dangerous work. In the famine days of 1877, Mr. Hall bears the following testimony to this truly wonderful woman:—

“First and foremost in all work for women is Mrs. Hu, who although now sixty years of age travels many weary miles (maugre her little feet) to speak a word for Jesus, and whose philanthropic spirit is of so practical an order, that several months past she has subsisted on the coarsest possible food, in order that she may be able to give bread to the perishing. Could better proof be given than this practical self-denial of her large, generous, Christlike heart? Surely she will

be honoured by receiving the benediction, not only of those who are ready to perish, but of the Master who said: 'Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of these, ye did it unto Me.'

"This was in 1877. Only fancy! And this saintly spirit was still with us in the flesh until 1905. She was ninety-eight years old when she died. Her story is that of a full half-century of noble work, yet commenced when she was already far from young. Dear, brave, self-forgotful, busy, smiling, happy soul, full of charities, and ripe in grace, which of us dare hope for a place as near the central throne, a crown or a harp so golden rich as thine in the eternal rest!"

She has special right to a place in this biography because of her special relation to Mr. Innocent, and his family, from the beginning of their work in China until the end.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE OPENING OF THE NORTHERN CIRCUITS, TANGSHAN AND YUNG P'ING

IN the selection of openings for missionary operations there are two opposite principles, or policies, which compete with each other in the minds of societies, and of individual workers. One may be called the policy of waiting for providential openings, the other the policy of deciding beforehand which are the more desirable places to occupy, and by sheer persistence continuing your effort until an entrance is obtained. Each of these rival policies has its ardent advocates, has its special advantages, and its special inconveniences. The one seems to place implicit trust in Divine guidance, the other seems to put its trust in human wisdom. It is, of course, not necessary to be so far wedded to theory as to rely exclusively on either method, and probably a wise mingling of the two is the true ideal to be pursued. It is possible to spend time and means in a vain endeavour to enter places which seem inexorably closed against you, and with much disappointment be compelled to abandon them after all, while other places solicit your attention unsought, and yield an immediate return to your labours. In the one case you seem to be pulling hard against the stream, in the other you seem to be taking at the flood the tide which leads on to fortune. But, on the other hand, it is remarkable how capricious and uncertain these providen-

tial openings are apt to be. You may be deluged with double as many invitations of a pressing character to places so small and so awkwardly situated as to render their occupation inconvenient and comparatively unimportant. You may be travelling scores of miles, by fatiguing stages, to preach the Gospel in an obscure village, and passing through large and important centres, where, though the call is utterly lacking, the need is immeasurably greater. Different missions working in contiguous centres may be crossing and interlacing their work in a most confusing manner, and causing mutual friction which a little forethought, and a division of the field at the beginning, would obviate. The subject would lead us into a discussion how far we are to trust to human wisdom, and how far to be guided by blind faith, but we will not pursue it further than to say that as mission work cannot be successfully done by the man who follows no light but that of his own understanding, neither does God intend us to cast away our natural powers when we enlist in his service. As one has well said, if God has no need of man's wisdom, still less need has He of man's folly.

Up to the period at which we have now arrived in the growth of the mission, we had been following in the main the first of these two policies, and with good results. For the most part we had followed where Providence seemed to lead the way, and to open the door. This story does not propose to concern itself much with the critics of missions, but if there be any such amongst our readers let them take careful note of this fact, that in our mission generally, and especially in respect to the very numerous openings in Shantung, so far from forcing the Gospel upon people, who were reluctant to receive it, we went only where we were first invited,

and often earnestly pressed, to go. Many have been the invitations refused, some because we suspected interested motives, others because we had neither men nor money to take them up.

But the opening in the North was, at least, in its beginning, a recognition of the second policy. Tangshan and Yung P'ing were a deliberately-chosen field, the chief motives for the choice being that a large coal mine had been recently opened, and a line of railway was likely to traverse this district. If this was trusting entirely in human wisdom we have never had reason to regret the step.

In the year 1880, a most important proposal was made to the mission by the Methodist Episcopal Mission of America, the headquarters of which are in Peking. That mission was about to embark upon the brilliant educational policy which has been so powerful an auxiliary to their work. It included the founding of the Peking University which at the present time has about 600 students, and the founding of schools in which the English language was a part of the curriculum. Very cordially they invited us to go to Peking, and to join them in this undertaking. Dr. Stacey, who was Mission Secretary at the time, was very strongly inclined to accept their offer, which included facilities they would place in our way for opening mission work of our own in the capital. The question was brought before the Chinese District Meeting in 1881, when it was decided that we could not accept the offer. The fear was that it would involve expenditure that was beyond our means. This it was which suggested the project which was broached at the same meeting. "This step," says Mr. Innocent, "was recommended as being more feasible and needful than the commencement of



Tientsin : Side View of City Corner Chapel.

a mission in Peking, it being almost destitute of evangelistic agencies while several of the largest missionary societies were established in the capital."

A large Chinese company had opened coal mines at Tangshan, under the superintendence of British engineers, and worked with foreign machinery. Amongst the skilled men engaged as workmen and overlookers were two Cornishmen, who made themselves known to us on their arrival as having been connected with our church at St. Agnes, in the Truro Circuit. The presence of a large foreign staff at the mines was itself an inducement to visit the place occasionally to conduct religious worship for their benefit. The large native population, springing up with mushroom growth at Tangshan, and the prosperous and populous condition of the surrounding country, presented both claim and scope for missionary labour. Colporteurs of the British and Foreign Bible Society had canvassed the district for more than two years with marked success in the sale of Scriptures. Chang Chieh T'ang, one of the finest colporteurs among the many we have furnished to that society, and who died at Mr. Innocent's house in 1882, penetrated far into Manchuria before any missions were opened there, and had wonderful stories to tell of the welcome he received. Yung P'ing is the prefectural capital of this district, and Mr. Hedley has pointed out that on Mr. Innocent's first journey to Tientsin he noted on the captain's chart that Yung P'ing was "a likely place for an inland centre."

To Mr. Innocent, in company with the Rev. J. Hinds, belongs the honour of the first visit to this promising region. They made a visit in 1880, preaching to the workmen at the colliery, and holding English services in the house of one of our Cornish friends. The manag-

ing director, Mr. T'ang King Sing, one of the earliest pioneers of New China, who was educated in a mission school, kindly offered every facility for establishing mission work. Thus our way seemed perfectly open, and it was decided a preacher should be sent as soon as possible. Tangshan is eighty miles distant from Tientsin, a two days' journey by cart, and was easy of access by land or water. It is now reached by rail in three hours. In 1881 the place was visited for the second time by the Rev. G. T. Candlin, who was much impressed by the changes taking place, and described them in the "Missionary Chronicle."

"The works at Tangshan, viewed from the standpoint of commercial advancement, are by far the most remarkable, and the most important thing in the whole Celestial Empire. Improvements far ahead of the times are common there, though tolerated nowhere else. It is like a little patch of one of our great commercial countries in the West cut out and dropped down in the most anomalous manner in the midst of an imperfect civilization, which has been stagnant for a thousand years. The traveller comes upon it with a feeling of mingled surprise and enthusiasm. There are the mines, and the coal coming up the shaft, the busy workers, the mingled sounds of the hammer, the chisel, the saw; the peculiar roll of the foreign machinery, that expressive voice of mechanical strength: sounds which are so unwelcome at home, but which echo like gruff music here; the railway, and the locomotive, with its freight of goods and passengers, the telegraph, the canal, the steam launch. Even Colleges for the training of native students in the sciences connected with mining are going up, and professors are being engaged to teach in them. Brickmaking has

commenced, good, well-baked bricks, such as you never see elsewhere in China, and excellent fire-bricks as well. It is a commercial revolution in miniature working itself out in this remote eastern corner of the Empire, almost beside the sea.

"It is a very inviting district in which to found a mission station."

Tangshan was again visited by Mr. Innocent in September, 1882. A Chinese preacher was sent to seek a suitable location for opening regular work. He settled for some time in Taoti, six miles south of the mines, but the town proved hostile. Kai-ping, five miles to the east, was more inviting. The District Meeting of 1882 resolved upon making Tangshan a Circuit, and strongly recommended it to the Committee as preferable to opening in Peking. But it still remained attached to the Tientsin Circuit. After several visits Mr. Innocent wrote a paper on Kai-ping (it was first called Kai-ping Circuit) which he read to his colleagues, and which was printed in the "Missionary Chronicle" for March, 1883. During that year three stations were opened in the new Circuit: one at Shü Ko Chuang, a village at the head of the canal connected with the mines by a short railway six miles in length; one at Kai-ping (five miles east), and one at Kuyeh, fifteen miles from the mines. Taoti was for the time abandoned, though resumed in recent years with great success. The railway mentioned above was the baby beginning of the present extensive Chinese railway system. Several visits were made later by Mr. Candlin with increasing encouragement.

The first missionary to take up residence at Tangshan was the Rev. J. Hinds. He was appointed in 1884, and lived for a time in a very poor Chinese mud-house

John Innocent

in the village of Chiao Chia T'un. Tangshan is originally the name of a hill which forms the extreme spur of the eastern mountain range of North China. The town now called Tangshan was then a bankside, first beginning to be populated. Mr. Hinds subsequently succeeded in obtaining the rental of a small house from the Mining Company in which he continued to reside until the mission purchased a large disused hospital from the company, which was converted into mission premises. During the year 1883, an offer was made by Mr. T'ang King Sing with a view to a medical missionary being stationed at Tangshan, and being appointed as surgeon-in-chief of the Mining Company's staff. Negotiations were commenced, and an agreement drawn up which was eventually concluded in London by Mr. T'ang King Sing with Dr. Stacey, the Mission Secretary. Dr. W. R. Aitken was appointed by the Conference of 1884, and arrived in China early in that year. His house and the larger part of his salary were provided by the Mining Company. The arrangement was a very promising one, and in other hands might have had results of the utmost benefit to the mission. Mr. Tang acted throughout in the most generous and considerate manner, but, owing to the course pursued by Dr. Aitken himself, the joint appointment became an intolerable one to the mission, and the agreement was terminated in 1887, the medical agent being handed over to the Mining Company.

Tangshan remained for six years without any medical work carried on by the mission. But in 1893 the generosity of a friend of missions in England enabled us to reopen, and Dr. W. W. Shrubshall was appointed. After one year, however, Dr. Shrubshall's furlough fell due, and the medical work was again interrupted. In

1894 the services of an unattached missionary, Dr. Wilde, were secured, but after eight weeks, he abandoned the work. In 1896 the services of Dr. W. A. Young were secured, who did excellent work for a year and a half, when he exchanged appointments with Dr. F. W. Marshall, to whom a change from Lao Ling had become necessary. In 1897, Dr. Young joined the mission of his own Church in Manchuria, and Dr. Marshall returned on furlough. It had been expected that Dr. Shrubshall, whose services were of special value to the mission, would be able to return, and, as a matter of fact, his name stands against the appointment in the Reports for 1895 and 1896, though he remained in England. On account of special family reasons he was unable to take up the work, and the services of an able and devoted worker were thus lost to the mission. In 1889 it was already in contemplation to remove the Hospital to Yung P'ing, but the step was not taken until after the Boxer Outbreak.

In the meantime the new Circuit continued to prosper. Mr. Hinds remained in charge until 1890, when he was succeeded by the Rev. F. B. Turner, who was again succeeded by the Rev. G. T. Candlin in 1896. The church at Yung P'ing was opened in 1885. Other stations followed at Lutai, at Huang Ko Chuang, at Ying Ko Chuang, at Hsiao Chi, at Sung Chia Ying, at Pai Kuan T'un and at Pei T'ang. While slow progress was made in the beginning (in 1891 there were but fifty-six full members in the Circuit), the work in the north steadily prospered, and in 1900, the Circuit (still called the Kai-ping Circuit) returned 541 members and 443 probationers.

The work at Yung P'ing City was of special interest as that was the prefectural town. It is not a large city,

perhaps not more than a population of 10,000, but an important official centre with military camps, and the seat of examinations for learned degrees. It is interesting as being one of the most ancient cities in all China, going back to the great *Hsia* dynasty, when it was the capital of the tiny kingdom of *Wu Chu*. The story of the "exalted" virtue of Po Yi and Shu Ch'i the two princes of *Wu Chu*, who renounced the kingdom, the one because he would not disobey his father's command, the other because he would not take precedence over his elder brother, and fled the kingdom together at their father's death, and who again at a later time, rather than submit to the usurper *Wu*, went into the wilderness, lived on the grass of a mountainside, and died in exile, was a darling legend of the people ages before Confucius was born, and has given them a place in the Chinese classics. The Temple erected to their worship with the images of the two brothers as idols, quite unlike ordinary temple idols, is about five miles to the west of the city, and a beautiful monument in the town itself, commemorative of their heroism, stands on the other side of the street right opposite our Methodist Church.

The city is a clean, attractive Chinese city situated amidst some of the finest scenery in the world. It is built close to the bank of the Ch'ing Lung, "the Green Dragon" river; it is surrounded by mountains on every side, and from its battlements, in the summer season, the wide waters of the Ch'ing Lung and the Lan interspersed with the mountain scenery form a picture which is perfectly entrancing. If Mr. Hall went into ecstasies over the flat and monotonous scenery of Lao Ling, what would he have done at Yung P'ing, where every aspect is the despair of the landscape painter!

Not only did Mr. Innocent mark the city on a map in 1861, but he sent one of our preachers to visit it in 1863, though at that time without result. He was, therefore, the more gratified to receive a visit in Tientsin from some soldiers belonging to the camp there inviting us to open work in the town, and he lost no time in responding. But in 1898 a new station was opened midway between the city and Lanchow, where we join the railway, at Pai Chia Tien, a village of considerable size. It is noted as the place where, in 1900, the most dreadful of all the Boxer murders took place. Soon openings presented themselves on the north, on the east and on the west of the city, and Yung P'ing became the centre of a group of ten or eleven mission stations, which stood detached fifty miles distant from Tangshan in the north-eastern corner of the Circuit. These formed a natural and promising nucleus for a new Circuit, and when in 1899 it became evident that Tangshan was untenable as a medical centre, on account of the large Hospital of the Mining Company, practically open to all comers, the project was formed of selling our property at Tangshan, building one new house there, and opening an entirely new centre with a Hospital at Yung P'ing. In 1902, the Rev. J. Hedley built two new houses at Yung P'ing, and removed with his family to the new Circuit, his place at Tangshan being taken by the Rev. J. Hinds. He was joined the same year by Dr. A. K. Baxter. During the past six years the Circuit, the newest work on the mission, has made a brilliant record.

Tangshan Circuit now contains 38 chapels, 647 members, 133 probationers, 5 schools, and 51 scholars.

Yung P'ing Circuit: 20 chapels, 338 members, 133 probationers, 2 schools, and 35 scholars.

CHAPTER XXII.

MR. INNOCENT'S SON APPOINTED AS A MISSIONARY,
THE FATHER'S RESIDENCE IN SHANTUNG, AND GEORGE
INNOCENT'S UNTIMELY DEATH.

IN 1870, at Salford, Mr. Innocent was made a Freemason and subsequently was one of the founders of "Union" Lodge, Tientsin.

On the 24th of the same month he wrote to inform the Mission Secretary of two interesting events. The first of these was the ordination of the Rev. J. Hinds. Five members of the mission staff have been ordained in China. The Rev. G. T. Candlin came out in the fourth year of his probation, and was ordained in Tientsin in the spring of 1880. The Rev. J. Hinds was ordained in the autumn of 1882, having been one year on probation in England, and three in China. The Rev. G. M. H. Innocent was ordained in 1887, the Rev. F. B. Turner in 1889, and the Rev. J. Hedley in 1898. All our other Chinese clerical missionaries were taken from the English ranks some years after they had completed their probation.

The second event Mr. Innocent wrote about was the arrival at Tientsin of his second son, George Morrison Hallam Innocent, who had that year been appointed as a missionary to China. This was the boy that in 1866 had been sent home for education. He was seven years of age at that time. Mr. Innocent accompanied

him to Shanghai, left him in charge of a friend, the captain of a sailing vessel, who had undertaken to convey him safe to England, and parted with him with almost poignant regret. To be separated from his children during the period of their education, with grave doubts of being brought together again after it, is the normal experience to which the missionary must generally look forward as a matter of course. The separation from parents and friends at the beginning of his career is not in the majority of cases so great a trial as this.

George was placed at a school at Blackheath, London, specially founded for the education of missionaries' sons. His education completed, he commenced active life as assistant teacher in a large private school at North Shields. After some time he removed to Newcastle-on-Tyne. There he was also occupied as assistant teacher in a school for gentlemen's sons at Jesmond. In 1880 he went to Oldham, where he became classical tutor in another private school. While at Oldham he became closely identified with the Church, and was made a local preacher. He was recommended for the ministry, and, at his own urgent request, was sent to China by the Conference of 1882. His first year in China was passed as a student preparing for probation, after which he commenced the regular four years' course. To the ordinary work of the course was added the study of the Chinese language. He passed his examinations creditably, was received into full Connexion by the Conference of 1887, and was ordained in Tientsin on December 4th. As a probationer he had been appointed in Tientsin, in Tangshan and in Shantung. At that time Mr. Innocent, senior, had but recently returned from his second furlough, having gone to England after a very long period of service from

John Innocent

1871 to 1885. He was accompanied, on his return by the Rev. F. B. Turner. George's appointment after ordination was to Tangshan. On the removal of the Rev. G. T. Candlin to Tientsin, in 1889, young Innocent was entrusted with the important work of superintending the Shantung Circuit. It was a large Circuit, onerous and toilsome work. But he was a young man of excellent qualities, was a very devoted worker, and won the affections of the people to a remarkable degree. His placid and amiable disposition, accompanied, as it was, by great modesty of spirit, and remarkable piety, was just the kind of disposition which the Chinese could appreciate, and accordingly their respect for him was profound. Though he had the language to learn, just as anyone else had, yet the fact that he was born in the country, and that he remained in China up to seven years of age, and, therefore, had prattled Chinese with the exquisite perfection of accent which is characteristic of children, so affected the vocal organs that the advantage was never lost, and he spoke Chinese with greater ease and naturalness than most.

The Shantung work prospered in his hands. Twenty-three new places were opened, many converts baptized and a great quickening of the churches manifested. He was thoroughly at home among the Chinese, and was freely invited to their houses. It is with the pride of a fond parent (and Mr. Innocent was very fond and very proud of his missionary son) that the father bears testimony to his manner of working.

"With a truly sympathetic spirit he had the manner of kindly ease and of homely familiarity, which, together with his ready use of their colloquial, induced the confidence and respect of men, women and children. He was freely invited to their houses, and made himself



George M. H. Innocent.

as much at home with them as though he were by his own fireside." There is a pretty custom among the Chinese, when they wish to show at once honour and affection for anyone, of presenting him with a long silk gown, on which the names of the donors are embroidered. As many subscribers as possible are secured, and the name of each one appears on the garment. Such a piece of clothing is known as a *wan ming yi*—"myriad-name robe." It is, in fact, a cloak of testimonial with which they completely investure him. Such a robe was given to George Innocent by the members in Shantung on his leaving the Circuit for furlough in 1891.

His term of service in Shantung had not been without its hardships. In 1889 a famine broke out which brought extreme destitution to all the eastern portion of the Circuit. This time the distress was due, not to drought, but to flood. The Yellow River, which is known as "China's sorrow," had repeatedly broken its banks, pouring destruction and misery over wide areas of the country. Whole villages were swept away, tens of thousands of lives were lost, the crops were destroyed, and the ravages of famine were felt in every home. While by no means so wide in extent, the destitution was nearly as severe in the years 1889 and 1890 as in the "Great Famine" of 1877. A Relief Committee was formed in Shanghai, and through the agency of missionaries a total of Tls. 10,000, nearly £2,500, was distributed. At one time or another every member of our mission took a hand in this work, but George Innocent may be fairly said to have done the lion's share. In 1889 Mr. Innocent, senior, together with the Rev. G. T. Candlin, went out to the famine field to assist him, and spent a considerable time in this very

arduous work. A small town five miles south of Wuting City, called Ti San Pu, was the centre of their operations, and in this work they witnessed terrible scenes. The picture of misery drawn is most harrowing:—

“To spend week by week in the heart of such horrors, to toil over difficult roads from village to village in a jolting mule cart, or, as was often the case, to reach the sufferers over miles of flooded fields in a clumsy little cobble-boat, to look upon their ruined homesteads, the mud walls washed away by the cruel waters, the roofs torn off to buy wherewithal to stay the pangs of hunger, to pass in review, by the hundred, their haggard faces, to see them eating their wretched repast, composed solely of weeds and willow leaves, to dole out to them by family groups the allotted pittance, and feel with a pang how little was the help you could give after all the effort made, it is not easy to imagine anything that could demand greater physical exertion, or put a severer strain on the human heart.”

The people were selling their houses, selling their land, their wives, their daughters, scattering as fugitives, often such of their possessions as they could carry away with them heaped upon a wheel-barrow, to beg enough to keep body and soul together. The whole surrounding country was full of them, and they were wellnigh as unwelcome as they were pitiable.

Through all these scenes George behaved like a hero, never wearying in the merciful work of relieving distress, and his furlough was delayed two years on account of it. Not until the cloud lifted in 1891, the floods disappeared and the harvest fields began to wave again with rich grain, did he quit his post for the rest to which he was more than entitled, and by that time

urgently needed. He went to England, his welcome more than assured, for his own as well as for his father's sake. But, alas, he went never to return. He was not a man of brilliant gifts, but of a rich and noble nature, and seldom has a more promising career of usefulness been cut off in the very hour of its opening bloom.

When George Innocent went on furlough, Mr. Innocent, senior, took up the work in Shantung, and removed with his family to Lao Ling. He had visited the country many, many times, staying there during a longer or shorter period as the many exigencies of the work seemed to demand. But since the unhappy time in 1867, when the attempt at permanent residence broke down, his residence had been in Tientsin. It was in June, 1891, twenty-four years after the first attempt, that he went to reside once more at Chu Chia. He was now sixty-two years of age, and while still strong enough for much useful work, he had lost the elasticity and vigour needed for the prosecution of such work as Shantung demanded. He was by no means well at the time, and it was only after consulting his medical man that he ventured on the experiment. Dr. Shrubshall was his medical colleague, and, as it was understood that Mr. Innocent could not be expected to do much of the travelling work of the Circuit, which involved much rough and uncomfortable experience, the doctor generously undertook to do as much as possible of the visiting work. Dr. Shrubshall was distinguished as a medical missionary for his keen interest in the evangelical work of the mission, and the part he took in it notwithstanding the heavy duties of his Hospital and Dispensary work. He rendered invaluable assistance at this time, by visiting the more distant parts of the Circuit.

John Innocent

He was a man we could ill afford to lose, and it was a matter for deep regret that after his furlough he was unable to return to China. It was at this time that Dr. Shrubshall made the acquaintance of Miss Kate Innocent, and formed the attachment which resulted in their marriage in 1898. The union took place in England. Miss Innocent had all the amiable characteristics of her brother, and had Dr. Shrubshall returned she would have made an ideal missionary's wife. During the period of residence in Shantung she did excellent work in assisting Mrs. Innocent to work amongst the women, and to carry on the work which Mrs. Candlin had established while resident in the country. At the time when Mrs. Candlin moved with her husband to Tientsin in the spring of 1889, there were four large women's meetings held weekly in the village, and this work was continued and increased by Mrs. and Miss Innocent.

Mr. Innocent applied himself zealously to the work of reorganizing the Circuit, and extensive notes taken at the time show how punctiliously he applied himself to the many details of his superintendency. No task was too simple, or too humble, for him to undertake, and his presence was a great stimulus to our Chinese staff of preachers, most of whom had been his pupils in the Training Institution.

One good piece of work which Mr. Innocent undertook at this time was a thorough revision of the members' register for the Shantung Circuit. At that time there were over 1,600 members and probationers scattered throughout about fifty churches. In the course of years, with the inadequacy of superintendence which had been possible, the registration of these members had become somewhat uncertain, and it was extremely desirable to have a complete, well-kept roll of member-

ship, which should contain the name, time of baptism, age and sex of every individual member. This work Mr. Innocent took up, and applied himself with characteristic energy to its preparation. It involved much trouble, but a large part of the work was successfully carried through, and the task was afterwards completed by Mr. Hinds.

After one year's residence, at the District Meeting of 1892, Mr. Innocent informed the meeting that his health would not admit of his remaining at Chu Chia another full year. He was appointed for the first half-year, at the end of which he would be allowed to rest for half a year, and go to Swatow, where his eldest son, William Innocent, resided, to recruit. Accordingly he came to Tientsin in November, 1892, but finding his health much restored in Tientsin he abandoned the Swatow visit as unnecessary, and remained at Tientsin to recruit his health until the winter was over, and awaited a new appointment at District Meeting.

We must now return to follow the fortunes of young George Innocent whom we last saw going on furlough. He arrived in England in time for the Conference of 1891, which was held in Leeds. He had been nine years away from England, and had come to tell the story of his missionary life. The Rev. G. T. Candlin, with his family, had also gone on his first furlough at the same time, arriving, however, in the autumn of 1890.

As a missionary on furlough he was especially well received and admired. His father's many friends naturally rallied around him, but he also made many new ones on his own account. He was a popular deputation in all the Circuits which he visited. He had no special gift as a speaker, had never been accustomed to address large audiences, but he was greatly admired for the

John Innocent

unaffected simplicity of his utterances, the evident sincerity of his missionary zeal, and the unsophisticated recital of his experiences. Who could have thought, as we looked at him, youthful and robust, that so soon he would be lost to us?

On the 18th of February, 1892, he married Miss Florence Pottinger, of Sunderland, and now, happy with his bride, was all on fire to get back to China. His preparations were quickly made, and on the 17th of April, accompanied by the Rev. G. T. Candlin and family, the youthful pair sailed by the ss. "Glengyle" from London. The passage was a very happy one at first, but, midway on the journey, he was seized with hæmorrhagic purpura. At Singapore he went ashore hoping that a day on land would do him good. But he was restless, and soon returned. From that time he got rapidly worse, and it appeared certain that he must break the journey at Hong-Kong.

But, alas! before Hong-Kong was reached the end came. Shortly after one o'clock, on Monday, May 30th, he passed quietly away. The ship was in latitude $20^{\circ} 17'$ north, longitude $113^{\circ} 50'$ east, about 138 miles from the port. His age was but thirty-two years, he having been born between the period when his father volunteered for China, and the time when he set sail in 1859. All through that sad and woeful night the ship laboured through lashing seas, with slow and hearse-like movements, into port. At the earliest dawn, with her flag at half-mast, she entered the beautiful harbour of Hong-Kong, and that day George Innocent was buried in Happy Valley Cemetery. The number of the grave is 5,438.

It is a beautiful spot where he is laid, at the extreme end of the cemetery, high up on the hillside, trees and

shrubs, and flowers of every form and hue bloom there in perpetual summer, birds of tropical plumage hover in the branches and carol to the evening sun. It looks upon the rock-girdled harbour, and the coming and going of ships ; it is always rich with fragrant odours, and cool with flashing and sparkling fountains ; it is set far from the touch of winter's frosty finger, and autumn leaves never lie brown and sere on the bright paths which meander through its recesses of everlasting green.

To lose their beloved son was a terrible blow to both Mr. and Mrs. Innocent. The loss of son and daughter, both dedicated and assigned to missionary work, both dying so young and in so sudden and tragical a manner, these were the two great griefs of their life. Hardly less was the anguish of the bereaved sister, so like George, so fondly beloved by him. What hopes they had built upon this, their missionary son, what dreams they had indulged of his future ! The beauty and the strength of both their characters was seen in the resignation and patience with which they bore the stroke. The young bride came on to Tientsin, and joined the Innocents in Shantung. It was an affecting meeting between the bride and the lost bridegroom's parents, a tearful welcome of the son's bride without their son. On January 15th, 1893, at Tientsin, a little grandson came to comfort the hearts so sorely bereaved, and leave a George Innocent to perpetuate his father's memory.

CHAPTER XXIII.

LATER YEARS OF SERVICE AND FINAL RETURN TO ENGLAND.

THE District Meeting of 1893 recommended Mr. Innocent's appointment to the Training Institution, and this was confirmed by the Missionary Committee and the Conference. There yet remained before him four years of service in China, and they were spent in the work of teaching. Many other interests, however, divided his time, to some of which we must refer later, but our first task in this chapter shall be to chronicle, as briefly as may be, a few events of interest which belong to the period from 1890 to 1900.

In 1891 Dr. F. W. Marshall and the Rev. J. K. Robson were sent to China. The former gentleman was the son of one of our best-known ministers, the Rev. H. T. Marshall, D.D. Hitherto our medical missionaries had entered our service from other Churches. Dr. F. W. Marshall represented an attempt to get one of our own sons trained for medical service. He was chosen beforehand as a promising young man for the work, and his medical education was in part at the cost of the Connexion. He passed his examinations successfully, and obtained the diploma of the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons, Edinburgh. On his arrival he was sent to the Lao Ling Hospital, where he was colleague with Dr. Shrubshall until the latter's removal to Tangshan in 1893.

The Rev. J. K. Robson was also first appointed to Lao Ling. Mr. Robson had entered the ministry as early as 1883, and travelled in Gateshead, Halifax North and Dewsbury. Having private means he volunteered to go out to China at his own expense for a period of five years. In the carrying out of this engagement he was most punctilious, not only forgoing salary, but also providing his own travelling expenses to China, and while on the field. No sooner had he begun to study the language than he conceived the idea of acquiring a medical training. He was removed to Tientsin in 1892 in order to acquire medical knowledge, under Dr. Roberts, at the London Mission Hospital. But, owing to the sudden death of Dr. Roberts, this arrangement came to an end, and in September, 1894, he sailed for America, where he secured a diploma as an M.D. He afterwards returned to England in 1898, and in 1901 was again sent to China as a self-supporting missionary. In 1907 he was given a place on the paid staff of the mission.

Dr. A. F. Jones, the son of one of our best-known laymen in the town of Chester, joined the mission in 1898.

In 1897, the Rev. J. Hedley arrived in China. He was appointed to Shantung as the colleague of the Rev. J. Hinds, where he remained until the time of the Great Outbreak in 1900. Mr. Robinson had been appointed superintendent of the Circuit in 1899. Mr. Hedley and Mr. Robinson and Dr. Jones, with their families, underwent very trying experiences in escaping from the Boxers. The way to Tientsin was intercepted, and, in conjunction with a large missionary party, they had to be conducted under escort to Yang Chia Kou where they were taken by steamer to Chefoo, and from thence

John Innocent

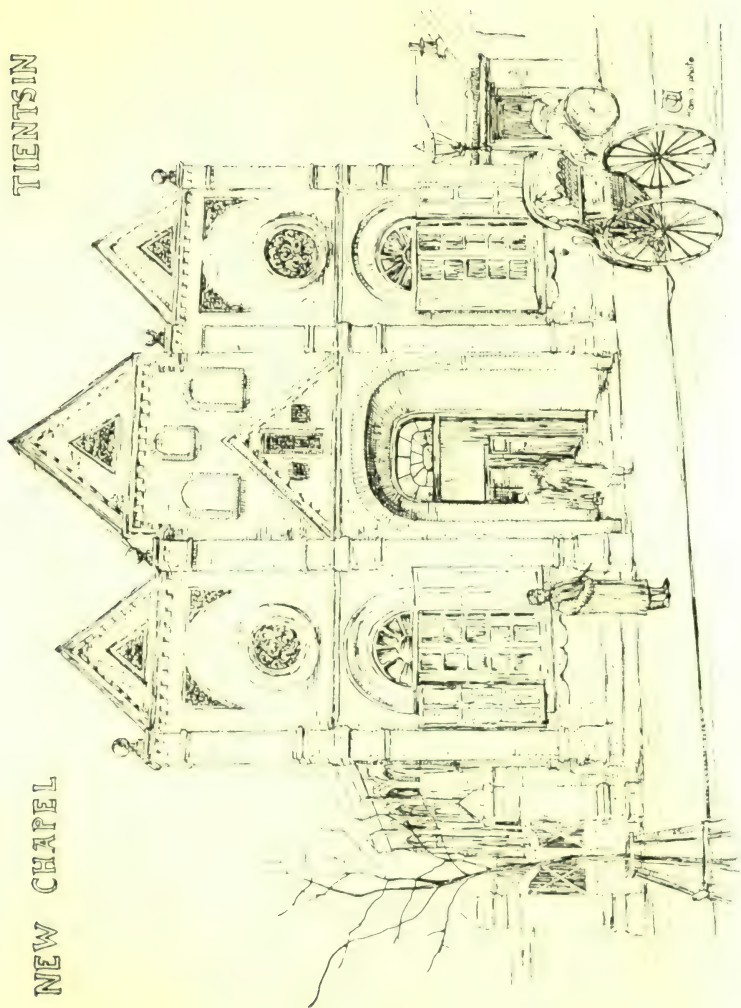
to Wei-hai-wei. Mr. Hedley, again in company with Mr. Robinson, made the first journey to Shantung after the country was settled, where they toiled arduously in arranging the Indemnity Claims of the mission, and of our Chinese members. Mr. Hedley also did much difficult work in arranging similar claims in the Tangshan and Yung P'ing Circuits. While residing at Tangshan he was entrusted with the opening of the long-projected new Circuit of Yung P'ing. He built the first new house in 1901, removed to the Circuit next year, and built a second house for the medical missionary. Mr. Hedley has published a book of travel, "On Tramp Among the Mongols," and also in 1907, a useful and interesting description of the mission entitled, "Our Mission in North China."

In 1893, the Rev. G. T. Candlin went, by special invitation, as a representative to the Parliament of Religions in Chicago, a quite unique gathering of representatives of all the great religions of the world.—Christian (Greek, Roman Catholic and Protestant), Mohammedan, Buddhist, Hindu, Confucianist, Shinto, Jain and other faiths. It was held in connection with the Columbian Exhibition.

In 1893 died Chang Hsao Hsuen, B.A. He was a Tientsin man, one of the old stalwarts, one of the first of Mr. Innocent's converts; his name stands fifth in the register of baptisms. He had rendered faithful service for nearly thirty years. Chang was the greatest bookworm the mission ever had, with an encyclopædic knowledge of Chinese literature, and a store of historical knowledge which out-distanced all rivals. As a preacher, he was gifted with remarkable originality, and a trick of unconscious humour, which was simply delicious. To see the congregation all smiling as he

TIENTSIN

NEW CHAPEL



Death of Mr. Chang Hsao Hsuen, B.A.

naively slipped out the thought they all shared, but which any other preacher would have suppressed, and the look of bewilderment on the old man's face, quite puzzled to know what it was all about, was a rare treat. The punishment of Ananias and Sapphira, as a Chinaman, he must say it was a terrible punishment for a very little fault, and the Lord was more merciful now, or where would they all be! Then the wonderful bursts of eloquence that would suddenly break out just as he seemed to have been getting prosy!

With really great acquirements, and a gift of speech seldom equalled, he united one of the simplest, most guileless characters we have ever known. He was incapable of deceit, but any child might cheat him by the most transparent device. Lowly, loyal-hearted, without a thought of self, patient and tender and great, let his name be written among the patriarchs. He died in Shantung where he had been working for many years.

In 1896 a very serious illness befell the Rev. J. Robinson. He had rendered twelve years of valuable service before entering upon furlough in 1889 and 1890. He was next in seniority to the Rev. J. Innocent, and during Mr. Innocent's second furlough, in 1885 and 1886, had charge of both Circuit and Institution in Tientsin, remaining in charge of the latter on Mr. Innocent's return until 1887. On Mr. Robinson's return from furlough in 1891 he was appointed to Shantung. As there were three missionaries in the Circuit and but two houses, the superintendent resided for some years in Tientsin. But the absolute necessity for a third house became apparent, and this was one of the chief reasons for the sale of the Institution property. Much discussion took place by correspondence with the Secre-

John Innocent

tary, the Rev. J. K. Jackson, as to whether the new house should be built at Yang Hsin or at Chu Chia. Chu Chia was finally decided upon, and in 1890 the building was actually commenced. It was while traveling to District Meeting in the spring that he was seized with violent pains on the way. He had had similar symptoms before, but little importance was attached to them by his doctor. Fortunately he was accompanied by three other brethren. He managed to reach Chu Chia, but had to take to his bed the first day of the District Meeting. His illness became more and more serious, and by the time the sessions were over Dr. Marshall had diagnosed it as appendicitis. Another doctor, Dr. Peck, was sent for from a mission station two days' distance away, and Mrs. Robinson was escorted from Tientsin to nurse him. A few days after a very serious operation was performed by Dr. Marshall, and after some months he was removed to Tientsin. It was hoped that a cure had been effected, but the next year, also at the beginning of the District Meeting, he was again seized, and a second operation was necessary. Fortunately this year the meeting was in Tientsin. The District Meeting of 1897 was remarkable for having had three chairmen. Mr. Innocent held but one session, and in the afternoon of the same day departed for England. Mr. Robinson held but one session, and was taken suddenly ill. It fell to Mr. Candlin to preside over the remaining sessions. After this second operation it was at once decided to send Mr. Robinson home. In 1897, a radical operation for the removal of the appendix was performed by Dr. Mayo Robson, of Leeds. In 1898, Mr. Robinson was appointed to the Batley Circuit as second preacher, and, notwithstanding the trying experiences which he had

come through, he won such golden opinions in the Circuit that the next year they pressed him to remain as superintendent. But his heart was in China, and in 1899 he returned to the mission field.

The next year came the Boxer trouble, and the harassing experience which we have already narrated. Mr. Robinson died at Tientsin on the 3rd of April, 1905, after a long and painful illness. His health had been visibly failing ever since his trying experiences in 1900.

Brother Robinson was a man of unusual force of character, and mental vigour, a fresh and virile intellect, an eloquent preacher, not lacking in humour, and possessed of a sound judgment in all business concerns. In addition to nine years of service in the English ministry he had served the mission for twenty-eight years. He is buried beside Mr. Hall in Tientsin Cemetery.

After the death of George Innocent a "George Innocent Memorial Fund" was formed. The Rev. G. S. Hornby had special charge of it, and a considerable sum was collected. By means of this fund a very suitable white marble memorial was erected over the grave in the "Happy Valley," Hong-Kong, and the rest of the amount was transferred to China, and utilized as a Loan Fund for some years to give assistance in the building of chapels in outlying places. It did good work in the performance of these functions, and at the same time was largely increased by them. By 1907 a sufficient sum was accumulated, and the George Innocent Memorial School was erected at the City of Wuting.

To come back to Mr. Innocent's activities during the last four years of his ministry. He was now getting an old man. In 1893 he was sixty-four years of age,

John Innocent

and while his devotion to duty remained as great as ever, he had no longer the force and energy of his younger days. He had borne the loss of his son with remarkable resignation, and those who were most intimate with him greatly admired his saintly acceptance of the Divine Will. But he was never quite the same man again. We are reminded of Browning's words:—

“All my days I'll go the softlier, gentlier.”

Of his work at the Institution during this period there is really little to be said. The duties of the position were faithfully discharged, and in the work of teaching he “kept the even tenor of his way.” It has been said, “Blessed are the people who have no history.” The College had no history. But he united with his duties a considerable amount of work as a colleague in the Tientsin Circuit. Especially he took his full share in the fortnightly visits to Taku, where we were wont to preach to the foreign community as well as to the Chinese Church. He was a delightful colleague during these days, and the present writer cherishes the memory of that time with peculiar satisfaction as the time when he knew Mr. Innocent best. Even after a long acquaintance there was still something to discover in him. His comradeship, his sympathy, his ready counsel, and the quiet but rare hospitality of his home were beyond all praise.

This period in the history of the mission was a most fruitful one in the work of organization, which up to now had by no means kept pace with the growth of the mission. In the important changes that were made, it is desirable to indicate clearly the part taken by Mr. Innocent. From a much earlier period (1890) it had been customary to appoint a Financial Secretary

who was closely associated with Mr. Innocent, who when in China was always chairman of the District, in keeping the accounts of the mission. The appointment of this officer was due in the first instance to Mr. Innocent. But it was not until 1892 that the appointment was distinctly recognized in the "Minutes" and the Report, and not until 1897 that he was given his rightful standing. The currency in China, in which accounts are reckoned, is Taels, and payments to Chinese agents were all made in Chinese money, copper coins of an extremely low denomination, called cash. One cash represented about one-sixtieth, or one-fiftieth part of a penny. Accounts are still kept on the mission in Taels and in cash (though the dollar is now coming into use), but are sent home in sterling. What with placing the accounts in these equivalents, and the negotiating of Bills of Exchange, the bookkeeping is much more complicated than in England. The Financial Secretary is in reality the Treasurer of the mission, and ought to be called so. Bills are negotiated and the general accounts supervised by the chairman, and this has the advantage of bringing two of the senior brethren in close touch with all questions of outlay.

A second step in the development of our organization was the founding of the Theological Committee, on the model of the one in England. This took place in 1891. It must not be supposed that previous to that date no work at all of that nature had been done, but up to that time there was no Standing Committee, and the work of examining students and probationers was done in a somewhat haphazard way. From this time forth there has been a permanent committee, the importance and value of which has greatly increased with the growth of the mission, and involves heavy labour

on the Theological Secretary. The chief credit for this Institution must be given to the Rev. F. B. Turner, who not only led the way in founding it, but has borne by far the heaviest burden in acting as its Secretary for most of the time since. At first it consisted of English missionaries only, the Revs. J. Robinson and F. B. Turner being the first Committee, but it was soon increased to a joint Committee of English and Chinese senior preachers. Its function is to examine candidates for the Institution, prepare the annual examination papers for the Institution students, provide a course of study for young preachers on their four years' probation, prepare questions for their annual examination and issue texts for their written sermons. It reports annually to the District Meeting. In the year 1891 there were fourteen probationers, in 1908 twenty.

In 1895 the Mission Provident Society was formed. Its rules were printed in 1896. This is the Beneficent Society for Chinese preachers on the North China Mission. Of the three classes of workers, preachers, catechists and school teachers, preachers only are admitted as members, and with them membership is compulsory. The formation of the society has had two excellent effects. It has freed the mission from constant appeals for help from disabled workers; and it has made it easier to remove from the staff men of advanced age whose days of usefulness are passed. Nothing could be more injurious to the mission than to feel bound, from motives of charity, to keep on men who have become a burden and a hindrance rather than a stay to the cause. The society is self-governing, and enjoys an annual grant of five pounds from the Mission Funds. The financial details of the society will provoke a smile from those who are accustomed to

manage such societies in England. With the exception of the £5, above mentioned, its income is derived exclusively from members' subscriptions. Preachers pay to the society, according to their age at entrance, a subscription ranging from 13s. to 7s. *per annum*. The grants to retired preachers are about 5s. *per month*; to widows about 2s. per month. It also makes funeral grants of about £4 on the death of wife, or of either parent. It thus appears to be a Beneficent Society on an extremely humble scale. The figures in Chinese denominations look quite different, however; in fact, quite munificent. The grant to retired preachers, for instance (5s), is 5,000 cash per month, or 60,000 cash per annum, which looks ruinously extravagant. But the society can afford to do it. The grant from home (£5) alone brings in 100,000 cash. Fancy getting 85,000 on the death of wife or parent. In reality the subscriptions and the grants are quite as high, judged by the social standard of those concerned, as those made in England.

The present capital of the society is Tls. 2,687, or about £335. Let us have this in cash, too, that we may see how rich we are. £335 equals not less than five million three hundred and seventy-four thousand cash. From this it will be seen that the society is thoroughly solvent and flourishing. There are at present five annuitants of the society, and in 1907 nine grants were made for funeral expenses.

But the great legislative act of the period was the formulation of a Code of Rules for the mission. This was determined on at the District Meeting of 1894, and the Rules were published in Chinese in 1896. The Committee appointed for the purpose consisted of the Revs. J. Innocent, J. Robinson and G. T. Candlin. The

John Innocent

Rules received the sanction of the District Meeting and of the Conference, and came into operation in 1897. They provided for an annual Chinese District Meeting, which has since been divided into two Sub-District Meetings for the three northern and two southern Circuits respectively, and for Circuit quarterly meetings and society meetings. They also included regulations for the preachers ordained and unordained, for catechists, school teachers and members. It was a notable piece of work, and though it made little noise at the time, it met a crying need, and has been of great benefit to the mission. Our Churches are now beginning to realize their value, but the Rules need revising in some respects. This Code of Rules was the granting of a liberal constitution to our Churches in China. Hitherto affairs had been managed very much by rule of thumb. Up to 1875 the names of our Chinese preachers were not printed in the "Minutes." Until 1896, such organization as the mission had, was as bureaucratic as that of early Methodism. All power was in the hands of the four or five English missionaries. No Chinaman had any recognized status or rights. There were no fixed stipends for the preachers. It was not government by a "Legal Hundred," but by a "legal five," or "four" as the case might be. For the first time, in 1896, our Churches became New Connexion in spirit and in polity. The mission was at length organized.

These various changes involved, of necessity, a considerable amount of work for Mr. Innocent as chairman, as well as for others. But it would not be true to represent them as due to his origination or leadership. He rather shrank from these steps in advance, with the feeling that the Chinese Churches were not ripe for them. But there is much truth in Mr. Gladstone's

maxim: "The way to make the people fit to enjoy liberty is to give them liberty." Mr. Innocent took up a mildly conservative attitude. If there were times when projected reforms scarcely enlisted his sympathy, he never degenerated into a mere obstructionist, but showed the nobility of his mind, after waiting a due time for reflection, by a willing acceptance of them.

Perhaps this is the best place to make brief reference to certain activities which extended over the greater part of Mr. Innocent's life, and for which no place has hitherto been found. He did much to forward the work of the Bible Societies, and especially of the British and Foreign. We have seen how deeply he was interested in the great work of the Rev. Alexander Wylie in Shanghai. When that gentleman visited Tientsin and Peking, in December of 1863, he noted it in his diary as a very important event. Mr. Wylie was probably his guest. From that time onward he took the warmest interest in the sale of Scriptures, and gave much valuable assistance, by serving on committees, and by finding suitable men to employ as colporteurs to render the work of the Society successful. We have seen how in his first tentative efforts at evangelism at Tientsin, and on his many preaching and exploring tours, he relied upon the distribution of the Scriptures as a most important aid. It was he who commenced the system, which has ever since been employed on the mission, of employing colporteurs in every Circuit, for the cost of which the societies willingly pay as an auxiliary to mission work. More than a dozen colporteurs are thus employed in affiliation with the mission at the present time. He loved his Bible for himself, and took much pains to give it to others.

During the earlier portion of his life, Mr. Innocent

was a very active temperance worker. He was one of the early founders of the Tientsin Temperance Society and Institution, founded chiefly for the purpose of keeping from bad haunts the sailors of the various gunboats of different nationalities—English, American, French, Russian—who might be in Tientsin during the winter. He was one of its first Presidents, and his portrait, presented recently, hangs on the walls of the Temperance Club side by side with those of the Rev. Jonathan Lees and the Rev. C. A. Stanley, D.D., in recollection of his past services. The society is now an influential one, and does much for the wellbeing of Tientsin society. It holds valuable property, is in the enjoyment of a considerable annual income, and has built the Waverley Hall, where the Waverley Club holds its meetings, a mixed club designed to provide innocent enjoyments for the young of both sexes. Many of the best citizens of Tientsin are active workers in the Temperance Society.

The termination of Mr. Innocent's work in China was fairly synchronous with the complete break-up of China's ancient policy of self-seclusion and isolation from the comity of nations. In 1894 the war with Japan broke out. Disturbances occurring in Korea, for which it was said Yuan Shih K'ai was chiefly responsible, led to the King of Korea calling on the Emperor, as his suzerain, for protection against the Japanese. The Emperor declared war on the 4th of August. Then came the naval battle of the Yalu, and the destruction of China's fleet. It was followed by the brilliant series of actions in which Japan first displayed her strength as a modern military power. The "Kowshing" was sunk in the gulf with China's forces, for the relief of Korea, aboard. Then came the great victory at Ping-Yang,

and the long succession of conquests which followed as the Japanese crossed the Yalu, entered Manchuria, took Chiu Liang Chen, Kai Chou, K'ai-ping, Hai Ch'eng, and followed on to Chinchow, Ta lien wan and the invincible fortress at Port Arthur; Niuchuang and Yingkou fell in turn, and when operating in China itself, the Japanese forces had taken the fortresses at Wei-hai-wei, and Liu Kung Tao, their way lay open for forcing the entrance of the Pei-ho, and a straight march from the sea to Tientsin and Peking. With not a single reverse, they had skilfully planned every attack, and carried it out with an energy and courage never surpassed. The campaign, on the Chinese side, was only a hopeless muddle of confusion, unpreparedness, obsolete military methods, and obsolete weapons, incapacity on the part of the generals, corruption on the part of the officials. Torpedoes would not explode, sand was in the shells instead of powder, gingals and bows and arrows were seen going to the front, the most effective machine guns were thrown aside because they did not know how to use them; Chinese soldiers were everywhere except on the field of battle; there they were always outnumbered by the Japanese. Absolutely at the mercy of her enemy, China succumbed, and, after one or two ineffectual efforts at peace-making, Li Hung Chang was sent to Japan, and on the 17th of April, 1895, the Treaty was signed at Shimonoseki. The result was such a humiliation, and such an awakening, as China could never forget, and from that time her whole foreign policy underwent a profound change.

In the year 1896 an important memorial was presented to the Emperor, by the Rev. T. Richard, representing the Protestant missions in China, asking for the frank

toleration of Christianity. It appears to have been little attended to, but a policy of national reform involving drastic national changes was commenced. The famous Kang Yu Wei, known under the *soubriquet* of "the modern Confucius," obtained the ear of the Emperor himself. He was associated with a small gang of young reformers, who secured from the Emperor Edict after Edict of an almost revolutionary character. China's antique system of examination for degrees and for offices was to be changed, sinecures abolished, idol-temples turned into schools, and as reactionary and conservative mandarins, alarmed for their prerogatives and emoluments, were loud in their protests, and enlisted the Empress-Dowager on their side, the Emperor ordered her to be placed in the "Winter Palace," where she would be deprived of all power to do mischief. Yuan Shih K'ai, to whom the order was entrusted, betrayed his sovereign by divulging his secret orders to Yung Lu who at once warned the Empress.

Then, in 1898, on September 22nd, came the *coup d'état*. Kang Yu Wei was compelled to flee; the Emperor was for some days imprisoned in a pavilion within the Forbidden City, and six young men, the flower of the reformers, were beheaded in Peking. The Empress resumed the regency, and, at the head of a cabal of violent reactionaries, set herself to reverse all that had been done by the young Emperor, issuing Edicts in his name, which must have been absolutely abhorrent to him, but which she had the means of compelling him to sign. Never was a monarch more childishly impotent. The friends of reform were in despair. The intervention of the Powers was confidently predicted, and the partition of China.

It was in the year before the events chronicled in



North China Missionaries (M.N.C.) and their Families, Tientsin, 1894.

the last paragraph that Mr. Innocent began, in the early spring, to make preparations for his third furlough. He intended to leave before the District Meeting, but was dissuaded. The enlarged District Meeting, at which Chinese delegates were present, was to be held for the first time, and Mr. Innocent presided over its sessions which occupied the first day. He set before the delegates the purpose cherished in calling them to our counsels, appealed to their loyalty and love of the mission to co-operate in the use of the privileges accorded to them, and exhorted them to continue steadfast in the great work now being committed to their hands. There was something peculiarly fitting in the fact that the old veteran, after so long a period of service, and now on the eve of departure for home, should be the one to inaugurate the new order of things.

Mr. and Mrs. Innocent, with their daughter, Kate, went on board their steamer in Tientsin that evening, March 22nd, 1897, escorted by many friends anxious to say good-bye. As we shook hands, and wished them a pleasant passage, and a hearty welcome on the other side of the ocean, we little thought that they were departing never to return.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE GREAT BOXER UPRISING.

IN this chapter we anticipate, by about three years, the narrative of Mr. Innocent's personal history, in order to give a brief account of the remarkable outbreak of 1900, an event which had a profound effect upon the mission, as, in fact, upon all the Christian missions in China. The story of Mr. Innocent's life will be resumed and completed in our final chapter.

In dealing with the Boxer uprising we are dealing with a disturbance of portentous magnitude. It surpassed in significance all previous disputes of China with foreigners. It brought into Chinese waters the fleets of many nations, it landed on Chinese soil an expedition which included the soldiers of Europe, America and Japan. The many scenes of violence and bloodshed connected with it were comparable, in their wild and measureless disorder, with the fierce struggles of the Tai-ping Rebellion. Its ravages spread over an area which extended through Manchuria to the banks of the Amur, and embraced the six provinces of Chihli, Shantung, Honan, Shansi, Shensi and Kansuh. Its spread into the southern provinces, which were profoundly disturbed by it, was only averted by the wise and vigorous action of the southern Viceroys. It gave to the Christian Church a "noble army of martyrs," not surpassed in the numbers of the sufferers, nor in the tortures they endured, nor yet in the fortitude and heroism they displayed by the persecutions of the early

days of Christian martyrdom under Nero and Caligula. Our own mission was situated in the very heart of the storm, and though suffering far less than many others, numbered about a hundred martyrs, a very large proportion of its members underwent hardships and privations of the severest character, and a loss was entailed to our membership of not less than twelve hundred persons.

Perhaps the greatest difficulty one has to deal with in writing of the Boxer outbreak is that of explaining its cause. Much has been written on this subject, yet nothing that is quite satisfactory. The fact is it is vain to ask for *the* cause. It is as though we asked for *the cause* of the French Revolution. It was too great and too complex and confused a movement to be ascribed to any one cause. There were many causes, great and small, near and remote, combined at the psychological moment to produce an effect which was miraculous in its wonder and horror. The general antipathy and conservatism of the Chinese people, their hostility to foreigners, their hatred of Christianity, China's unfortunate political relations, her humiliating defeat by Japan, the alienation of her territory, the ceaseless demand for concessions from her of the most various kinds, the talk freely indulged in of the coming partition of China, the reforms attempted by the Emperor Kuang Hsü in the days of his real power, and which, though failing, had awakened deep resentment in the minds of the reactionary, the uncertainty of China's future, all these were causes, and it was their *cumulative* force which made them the efficient spring of so stupendous a result. If this accumulation of causes renders it difficult for us to explain the Boxer Outbreak, let us be thankful that the impossibility of

their all combining into one for a second time, is our surest guarantee that the Boxer Outbreak can never occur again.

The true genesis of this strange movement is to be traced to the events of 1898, which we have already narrated, and the *coup d'état* which reduced the Emperor to impotence, drove Kang Yu Wei into exile, and brought to the block the young martyrs of reform. We have a very definite and decided opinion that from that time dates the deliberate scheme of the reactionaries, chiefly Manchus, for driving foreigners from China and restoring to the Empire its ancient exclusiveness. The ruling spirits of the disorder in 1908 were the Cabal, who made the resolution of 1898, Prince Tuan, Yung Lu, Kang Yi, Prince Ch'ing, their infamous tool Yü Hsien (all Manchus), and the brigand Chinese General Tung Fu Hsiang. At that time the scheme was hatched, and from that time they began their work. The Empress-Dowager was at their head. The act of 1898 was really an act of usurpation, the government of the Empress-Dowager was a usurping government, and this nefarious Government thus early conceived the idea of making the ignorant people the cat's-paw of its traitorous policy. An instrument was wanted for exciting into activity the slumbering animosity of the populace. Yü Hsien was appointed Governor of Shantung and entrusted with the task of creating this instrument. It involved the calling into existence of not less than three weird and mysterious secret societies, viz., the Big Sword Society, the Boxer Society, and the Light of the Red Lamp Society. The latter was an association of young females who appear to have added little to the movement but an air of romance and mysticism. The Big Swords were a violent and daring band who

were responsible for the murder of the Rev. Sydney Brooks, a Church of England missionary, which took place near to Tai Ngan, in southern Shantung, at the close of 1899. Governor Yü Hsien was its reputed head. They were soon merged in the famous Yi Ho Ch'üan, literally, "Volunteer Associated Fists," which came to be called the Boxer Society. Though many seem to think that this renowned and redoubtable secret society was a popular movement originating spontaneously among the people, which was *afterwards*, when grown to formidable dimensions, adopted and patronized by the Empress and her clique, we are convinced that this theory by no means accounts for all the facts, which can only be accounted for on the supposition that it was called into being, and nursed and fostered into strength by Yü Hsien himself, whose secret instructions enabled him to prove, whenever needful, that he had the highest authority for his action in calling it into birth. It is freely admitted, on all sides, that it was openly patronized and employed at a later stage by both Prince Tuan and the Empress. It is only on the supposition of its being, in its very inception, a secret official creation, that we can explain its phenomenal growth, the absence of all opposition to it on the part of the well-disposed gentry and people, the perfect impunity with which it did its lawless and evil work from the very beginning, and the manner in which the soldiery co-operated with it throughout.

We have the authority of Yuan Shih K'ai, when Governor of Shantung, for saying that the "Big Swords" had commenced organizing as early as 1896, and that their origin was in the prefectures of Yi Chou fu and Yen Chou fu. There are strong reasons for supposing that a number of Buddhist and Taoist priests

were associated with the Boxer Society in its beginnings. Once formed it appears to have commenced operations on a small scale at various centres in Anhui, Kiang-su and Shantung. But its movement was steadily northward, until, in 1899, its lawless deeds began to arrest special attention in the districts of Chichou (Chihli) and Ping Yuan and En Hsien (Shantung). The mission stations at P'ang Chuang and at Hsiao Chang were the first to be harried by its lawless acts, but they do not appear to have attempted more at that time than pillage and extortion on a large scale. They had already given out that in consequence of the mysterious and supposed magical qualities acquired as the result of certain exercises, known as "Boxer Drill," they were absolutely invulnerable either to sword cut or rifle shot. A conflict took place, however, between them and the Government troops, near Ping Yuan, in the latter half of 1899, in which ninety-eight of them were killed. In consequence of this Yü Hsien, the Governor, had the Prefect and the District Magistrate removed, and the head constable, who had arrested some of them, taken in irons to Chinan, and punished in the severest manner. From that time the opinion began to grow that the Boxers had "secret orders from above." By December of 1899 the Society had grown so large, and its operations were so widespread that a good part of Shantung was in serious disorder. At this juncture, owing to the pressure of the foreign ministers on the Tsung Li Yamên, Yü Hsien was removed from Shantung, and Yuan Shih K'ai sent to succeed him. Yü Hsien was marked for special favour by the Empress, and appointed Governor of Shansi. During the month of May, 1900, the whole district along the railway line from Paoting to Peking was swarming with Boxer

camps, zealously practising their incantations, posting their threatening placards, and making furious attacks. Dr. Smith tells us that, "A Roman Catholic congregation was burned alive in its place of worship. Christians were attacked in their homes, or wherever they could be found, cut down at sight, and their bodies thrown into wells and streams. There were supposed to be thirty thousand Boxers gathered about the single city of Chi Chou, practising their magic rites by day and by night."

It first became evident that operations on a grand scale were intended, when, on May 28th, they attacked the railway station at Feng-tai, a few miles south-west of Peking. This was followed by attacks on other stations along the line. By the end of May warships had already assembled at Taku, and the various Legations in Peking telegraphed for guards to be sent up. The Chinese authorities objected to this, and offered to protect the Legations with their own soldiers. The ministers, fortunately insisted, and on the 31st of May, about eighteen officers and 389 men arrived in Peking to strengthen the Legation guards. The portentous dimensions to which the outbreak had already grown is shown by the following telegram sent by Mr. Conger to President McKinley:—

"Boxers destroy chapels, massacre hundreds Christians, threaten exterminate all foreigners. T'ung Chou abandoned; Paotingfu, Tsun Hua extreme danger. Chinese troops useless. Attack Peking, Tientsin daily threatened. Railways destroyed, telegraphs cut. Chinese Government paralysed. Imperial Edicts double-faced: favour Boxers. Universal peril. Unless situation promptly relieved, thirty Americans convened regard outlook practically hopeless."

General Nieh was sent to guard the railway, but his orders were to disperse the Boxers without firing upon them. Tung Fu Hsiang opened the gates of Peking, and the Boxers marched into the city, and practised on the official drill grounds, opposite the British Legation, and in the Palaces of Duke Lan and Prince Tuan. On June 10th, Prince Tuan was made President of the Tsung Li Yamên, China's Foreign Office. During this period numberless Christians and friends of Christians were massacred in and about the city. Pillage and burning proceeded day and night, and fires raged in all directions. The railway line to Tientsin was destroyed. Peking was in a state of semi-siege. All foreigners in the city withdrew into the Legations for protection, together with a large body of Chinese Christians. One sturdy party of French priests and soldiers held the Cathedral in Peking from first to last. What was taking place at Peking was but a type of events transpiring throughout the North, so that the months of June, July and August were witnesses of one wild whirlwind in which the nation was utterly frenzied, and fire and bloodshed were intermingled with such fiendish acts of cruelty as the world has seldom known. Space limits compel us to crowd into a few sentences what it has taken volumes to describe in any detail.

On the 2nd of June, Mr. Norman and Mr. Robinson were massacred at Yung Ching. Foreign reinforcements landed at Tientsin on June 5th. None too soon; for the situation there was as menacing as at Peking, and the settlements were threatened. On the 9th of June the terrible Edict was issued which was the Empress-Dowager's crowning crime: "*Yang jen pi sha, t'ui hui chi sha*"; "Kill all foreigners: as they retire kill them at once!" Mr. Sugiyama, the Japanese Chan-

cellor, was killed in Peking on June 14th. Baron Von Ketteler, German Minister, was killed in the streets of Peking by soldiers on June 20th. On that day commenced the siege of the Legations which lasted until the 20th of August, when, after suffering terrible hardships, they were relieved by the expeditionary forces under the Count Von Waldersee, the British forces, commanded by General Gaselee, being first to enter through the Watergate. A fierce attack was made on Tientsin foreign settlements by Boxers from the city joined by Chinese soldiery on June 17th. That same day Taku forts were taken by gunboats from the fleets. The garrison was again hard pressed on June 31st, and was relieved by allies after hard fighting on the 23rd. In the meantime Admiral Seymour had started on June 14th for Peking. He had several encounters with Boxers and soldiers, who had now joined forces, but his small force was so encumbered with wounded that he returned to Tientsin June 29th, capturing the arsenal at Hsiku on his way. At T'ai Yuan fu, the capital of Shansi, fifty-four missionaries, men, women and children, were massacred in the Governor's Yamên on the 28th of June and the 9th of July. They were murdered by order of the Governor, Yü Hsien, who is said to have killed some of them with his own hand. There was fierce fighting at Tientsin on the 3rd, 4th, 6th and 9th of July. On the 11th there was a determined attack on the railway station, which was repulsed, though with heavy loss, by Russian troops. But by this time heavy reinforcements began to arrive: the tables at last were turned, and those who had been barely holding their own against overwhelming odds not only of men, but of weapons, for while the allies were fighting with almost antiquated guns, the Chinese

had command of some of the finest artillery that modern science has produced, were now able to assume the offensive. On the 13th and 14th of July the city of Tientsin was taken by the allies, forty-eight guns being captured by the Japanese. With the taking of Tientsin the back of the Boxer insurrection (if so it may be called) was broken. On the 5th of August the great march to Peking began; the Boxers were scattered in all directions, and on the 20th the Legations were relieved. The Chinese Court had fled to Singan, and the Forbidden City itself fell into the hands of the foreign troops. The madness of the Court had spent itself. The Dowager-Empress began to see that her unexampled crime was an unexampled blunder, and called in saner councils. Li Hung Chang was restored to power, and the work commenced of reorganizing the Government and restoring the country to its normal state. It was a work of extreme difficulty, and the task of securing guarantees against any repetition of disorder, and indemnities for the countless losses sustained, was the complicated and anxious work of the next two years.

It must not be forgotten that while, at the ports and in Peking, foreigners were in a position to protect themselves and offer resistance to the violent attacks made upon them, several thousands of missionaries, scattered in little groups, comprising companies of from two to ten families, throughout the interior of China, were absolutely at the mercy of their relentless foes, and had to make their escape, sometimes over hundreds of miles, through a hostile country. This is the sole reason why so large a proportion of missionaries met their death. Considering the circumstances in which they were placed, it was truly astonishing that the num-

ber killed was not ten times as great. The story of their sufferings, the horrors perpetrated on those who fell, and the hairbreadth escapes by which the greater portion of them came out of the fire, is full of thrilling excitement and wonder, and affords ample ground for magnifying the wonderful grace of their deliverance. No attempt at an account of any of them can be made here. Let it suffice to say that the true wonder, the crowning miracle of these scenes of horror was not the defence of Tientsin, or the relief of Peking, but the unspeakable, marvellous deliverances of thousands who were absolutely defenceless. It must also be remembered that the Chinese Christians, Roman Catholic and Protestant, bore the unmitigated brunt of the assassins' rage, and by thousands, under circumstances, often of the most refined and fiendish cruelty, were remorselessly butchered. Many attempts have been made to estimate the numbers of these martyrs. It was undoubtedly, as in all such cases, much exaggerated at the time; statements were freely made that the Chinese martyrs could not be less than 30,000. Better information is now forthcoming. In connection with the Shanghai Missionary Conference, of 1907, Mr. McGillivray made an attempt to tabulate the names of Protestant martyrs, and succeeded in obtaining about 2,000. As the Roman Catholic Christians are much more numerous their list would probably exceed this number, but we should think it safe to say the total could hardly exceed 5,000. We give here the complete list of the martyrs on our North China Mission, as it was published in 1901:—

TIENTSIN CIRCUIT.

Name of Village and Person.	Remarks.
HSING CHI:	
Chu Yu Heng	} One family. No age given.
Chu Mêng Yu	
Two Children	
Chêng Hai San... ..	
Chu Ta Chih	

SHANTUNG CIRCUIT.

CHU CHIA :				
Li Tsê Ngên	Aged 65	} One family; murdered in the most cruel manner.
Li Mo Kwei	...	...	Aged 34
Li Mo Ho...	...	...	Aged 18
CHIU HSIEN:				
P'ang Li Tê	Aged 35.	Cut to pieces, and his body afterwards burnt. This man belonged to a family of Christians and was the most earnest and zealous of the family. He was intensely wishful to be a preacher, and made application a year ago with this view.

MIAO CHUANG:

Miao Têng Shih ... Aged 27.

T'SANG SHANG:

Su Fêng	Aged 71.	The father of one of our preachers.
Han Wen Ming... ..	Aged 30.	
Two sons of same		
Hsieh Yu	Aged 70	The father of our Hospital evangelist.
Su Jui Wên	Aged 49.	The faithful servant of Mr. Robinson for 20 years. "His works follow him."
Su Jui Hsiao		Son of above—died of fright.
Su Yu Tou	Aged 83	} Two good old disciples of Jesus.
Su Jui Nien	Aged 60	
Su Kuang Hsing	Aged 22.	
Yang Ming Nien	Aged 50.	
Su Ch'ing	Aged 60,	husband.
Su Huang Shih	Aged 50,	wife of above.
Su Chin	Aged 19,	son.
		} One household.

Names of Martyrs

Su Liang Shih ...	...	Aged 50	} One family, all mercilessly slaughtered and bodies flung into the street.
Su Erh Yueh ...	...	Aged 20	
Su Lu ...	...	Aged 17	
Su Mei ...	...	Aged 15	
Su Yu Shih ...	...	Aged 40	} A pious mother and sons.
Su Chuang ...	...	Aged 15	
Su Tu ...	...	Aged 12	
Su Kuo ...	...	Aged 7	
Su Jui Hsiang ...	...	Aged 60.	
Su Wu ...	...	Aged 27.	
Su Ngo ...	...	Aged 19.	
YU HO LANG CHIA:			
Wang Yu ...	...	Aged 59.	A grand good man, a Bible seller.

T'ANG SHAN CIRCUIT.

PAI KUAN T'UN SECTION:

Shih Kô Chuang:

Wang Pai ... Aged 56.

Hei Ma Tien:

Wife and Daughter of Aged 35 and 2 years respectively.
Chang Shu Burned alive in house.

Kou Ilua Tsai:

Sun Ch'ien ... Aged 35.

Chang Kuan T'un:

Chang Shou Chên and Aged 56 and 60 respectively. Our
Wife preacher at Sung Chia Ying. Seven
of his family murdered at same
time.

Hsiao Ku Chuang:

Chang Yu Wên ... Aged 17. Only child of his parents.
Body cut in pieces and nailed to
wall, and offered for public sale
at Taels 500.

Kuo Chia T'un:

Ch'ên Yin ... Aged 74.

KU YEH SECTION:

Ku Yeh:

Liu Li ... Aged 40. Preacher. Leaves widow
and four children.

Sung Chia Chuang:

Sung Ch'ao ... Aged 39. Widow and one child.

LU TAI SECTION:

Hsiao Tien Chuang:

T'ien Yü Lin ... Aged 56. Widow and four children.

Ch'ü Chia Chuang:

Shên Tai Yuan ... Aged 52.

YUNG P'ING CIRCUIT.

City:

- Li Shu Chih Captured by city Boxers headed by a wealthy Manchu, bound and carried to our Chapel, after a mock trial beaten with 500 stripes so severely as to die in city prison.
- Wang Shêng Mo ... Preacher. Murdered near South Wall. Head battered in with axe.
- Chang Kê Chuang:
Wang Shun T'ien ... Member. Beaten with fists until face blackened with the bruises, then died.
- Pao Kuan Ying:
Wife of Li K'uei ... Probationer. Hands and feet cut off, not dead, so burned alive.
- Ho Chuang. (This place 5 li from a village named Ni Kou, where Boxers were very fierce. As a result 23 people were murdered in this little section.)
- Ho Wên Shih Member. Wounded with swords and knives, then drowned in the river Lan.
- Ho Mêng Ku Probationer. Son of above. Treated similarly to his father.
- Ho Tien Chêng ... Probationer. Daughter of Ho Ju Ching, our Colporteur and Catechist at Ho Chuang, who refuses to accuse the murderers of his child, preferring to leave them to God in the hope that they may be brought to repentance.
- Ho Hsing Jui and Ho Hsing Yün ... Brothers, and both Members. Murdered by Ni Kou Boxers, headed by one Chang Hung, nephew of the two murdered men.
- Ho Ming Chang ... Elder of the Church. Escaped to the mountains, but captured by Boxers. Had opportunity to recant, but would not deny his Lord and was then burned alive.

Names of Martyrs

Ho Hsing Ssü ...	...	Wife of above. Thrown from precipice by her own brother, who descended and kicked her to death.
Ho Hsiao Erh ...	...	Son of above. Also murdered by his uncle.
Ho P'ing ...	...	Probationer. Cut to pieces with swords.
T'ien Tsou ...	...	Stoned to death. Body thrown into river.
Wife of Yao Chien ...	...	Probationer. Dragged outside her village and stabbed to death.
Chang Shou Chên ...	...	Probationer. Aged 19. Beaten to death.
Wife of Li Chien ...	...	No particulars of manner of death.
Li K'uei Tzu ...	...	Met by Boxers, known as a Christian, and cut to death with swords.
Yang Lin and Wife ...	}	One family of seven. Taken to Temple by Boxers, but murdered at midnight. Their bodies were cut in pieces and flung apart.
Yang Yi Ch'ing, Wife and Daughter		
Yang Shan ...		
Yang Chung ...		
Hsü Yang Ssü and Daughter Hsü Hsien Hsin		Sister and niece of above Yang Yi Ch'ing. Probationers. Wounded and then drowned in river. Boxers instigated in this case by an uncle of Mrs. Hsü, she having refused to marry again at his wish. This man has since taken possession of her property and land.
Pai Chia Tien Tzu:		
Chên Hsi Kung ...	...	Member. Had opportunity to recant, but boldly confessed his Lord. His heart was cut out and placed on a stone in the village.
Chên Jên Yi ...	...	Aged 10. Baptized son of Chên Lao Chieh. The little fellow would not renounce Jesus, and was cut down by the Boxers.
Chên Shih Yuan and Chên Shih Yu		Brothers of above Chên Jên Yi, who although not baptized, were also murdered by Boxers.
Ch'ing San and Lan San		Both infants, nephews of Chên Jên Yi, torn from their nurses and cut to death.

The details are terribly realistic, but they convey a more vivid impression to the imagination of the reader than whole pages of elaborate description. It is needless to say they differ in no respect from the atrocities which were proceeding over all the missions during those awful months. Indeed there were horrors perpetrated worse than any described in this list.

The number of martyrs among the missionaries themselves was easier to trace. We give a list taken from the Report of the Shanghai Missionary Conference of 1907, and a table of Roman Catholic martyrs from Dr. A. H. Smith's work "China in Convulsions." The list of Protestant missionaries is as correct as possible, but accuracy cannot be guaranteed for the Roman Catholic table. The indignities perpetrated on white men and women and children were at least as great as those suffered by the Chinese. It is to the credit of some of the officials that they altered the dreadful Edict to "slay" all foreigners, by the change of a single word, into "protect" all foreigners. It is said that Hsü Chang Ch'ing and Yuan Chang were beheaded for this. No foreigners were massacred either in Shensi, Honan or Kansuh. Tuan Fang, the temporary Governor of Shensi, behaved with heroic magnanimity, and took immense pains to save the lives of missionaries. Some of those in his province took 100 days to reach the coast. All the missionaries of our North China Mission escaped, not only with their lives, but without harrowing experience.

Martyrs' Memorial Hall

MARTYRS : 1807-1906.

The Martyrs' Memorial Hall in the Y.M.C.A. Building, Shanghai, commemorates the Martyrs, native and foreign who fell during the century 1807-1907.

BEFORE THE BOXERS.

- 1847 Walter M. Lowrie of the Presbyterian Mission.
- 1850 Karl Joseph Fast of Sweden.
- 1861 J. L. Holmes of the Southern Baptist Mission, and H. M. Parker of the American Protestant Episcopal Mission, were killed by robbers.
- 1867 S. Johnson, of British and Foreign Bible Society, killed in Anhui.
- 1869 J. Williamson, of London Missionary Society.
- 1891 June 5, Rev. W. Argent, a Wesleyan, of the "Joyful News" Mission, killed in Wushueh.
- 1893 July 1, Messrs. Wickholm and Johannssen of the Swedish Mission were killed at Sung Pu.
- 1894 In August, Rev. J. Wylie, of the United Free Church Mission, killed in Liaoyang by Chinese soldiers.
- 1895 August 1, ten foreigners were killed at Whasang. Rev. R. W. and Mrs. Stewart and two children (Herbert and Hilda) and two Misses Saunders from Australia, all of the C.M.S. Miss Elsie Marshall, Miss Hessie Newcombe, Miss Flora Stewart and Miss Annie Gordon, from Australia, all of the C.E. Zenana Missionary Society. Known as the Kucheng Massacre.
- 1898 November 4th, Mr. W. S. Fleming of the C.I.M., in Kweichow.
- 1899 December, Rev. S. M. Brooks, S.P.G., by Boxers in Shantung.

VICTIMS OF THE BOXERS, 1900.

MARTYRED MISSIONARIES OF THE CHINA INLAND MISSION.

Associates.

Date of decease.		Date of decease.	
1900		1900	
N. Carleson ...	... June 28	O. A. L. Larsson ...	June 28
Miss J. Engvall ...	... „ „	Miss J. Lundell „ „
Miss M. Hedlund ...	... „ „	S. A. Persson „ „
Miss A. Johansson ...	... „ „	Mrs. Persson „ „
G. E. Karlberg ...	... „ „	E. Pettersson „ „

John Innocent

Members.

1900			1900		
Emily E. B. Whit-			Josephine Desmond ...	July	21
church	June	30	Emma Ann Thurgood	"	22
Edith S. Searell	"	"	G. Fred Ward	"	"
William Cooper	July	1	Etta Ward	"	"
Benjamin Bagnall	"	"	Edith Sherwood	"	24
Emily Bagnall	"	"	Etta Manchester	"	"
W. M. Wilson, M.B.,			David Barratt	"	?
C.M.	"	9	Alfred Woodroffe	"	?
Christine Wilson	"	"	Mar. Cooper (Mrs.		
Jane Stevens	"	"	E. J.)	Aug.	6
Mildred Clarke	"	"	Mary E. Huston	"	11
Stewart Mackee	"	12	F. Edith Nathan	"	13
Kate Mackee	"	"	May Rose Nathan	"	"
Charles S. I'Anson... ..	"	"	Eliza M. Heaysman	"	"
Florence I'Anson	"	"	Anton P. Lundgren... ..	"	15
Mafia Aspden	"	"	Elisa Lundgren	"	"
Margaret E. Smith	"	"	Annie Eldred	"	"
Hattie Rice	"	13	William G. Peat	"	30
George McConnell	"	16	Helen Peat	"	"
Isabella McConnell	"	"	Edith Dobson	"	"
Annie King	"	"	Emma G. Hurn	"	"
Elizabeth Burton	"	"	Duncan Kay	Sept.	15
John Young	"	"	Caroline Kay	"	"
Alice Young	"	"	P. A. Ogren	Oct.	15
David Baird Thomp-			Flora Constance		
son	"	21	Glover	"	25
Agnes Thompson	"	"			

Children.

1900			1900		
Gladys Bagnall	July	1	Isabel Saunders	July	27
Alexander Wilson	"	9	Jessie Saunders	Aug.	3
Baby Mackee	"	12	Mary Lutley	"	"
Dora I'Anson	"	"	Brainerd Cooper	"	17
Arthur I'Anson	"	"	Edith Lutley... ..	"	20
Eva I'Anson	"	"	Faith Glover	"	28
Alice Mackee	"	"	Margretta Peat	"	30
Kenneth McConnell... ..	"	16	Mary Peat	"	30
Edwin Thompson	"	21	Jenny Kay	Sept.	15
Sidney Thompson	"	"	Vera Green	Oct.	19
Herbert Ward	"	22			

Associates.	Members.	Children.	Total.
10	48	21	79

Names of Martyrs

MARTYRED MISSIONARIES OF OTHER PROTESTANT SOCIETIES.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND MISSION IN NORTH CHINA (S.P.G.)

Rev. H. V. Norman, Rev. C. Robinson.

ENGLISH BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

Rev. S. W. Ennals, Miss B. C. Renaut, Rev. and Mrs. Herbert Dixon, Rev. and Mrs. W. A. M'Curach, Rev. and Mrs. F. S. Whitehouse, Rev. and Mrs. J. T. Underwood, Rev. and Mrs. G. B. Farthing and three children, Miss Stewart.

THE SHAOYANG MISSION.

Mr. and Mrs. T. W. Piggott and son Wellesley, Dr. and Mrs. A. E. Lovitt and one child, Mr. and Mrs. Stokes, Mr. and Mrs. Simpson, Mr. J. Robinson, Miss Duval, Miss Combs.

UNCONNECTED.

Miss K. Horn, Mr. A. Hoddle.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY.

Rev. and Mrs. W. T. Beynon and three children.

SWEDISH MONGOLIAN MISSION.

Mr. and Mrs. Helleberg and one child, Mr. Wahlstedt.

CHRISTIAN AND MISSIONARY ALLIANCE.

Mr. and Mrs. Emil Olssen and three children, Mr. and Mrs. C. L. Lundberg and two children, Mr. and Mrs. W. Noren and two children, Mr. and Mrs. E. Anderson and three children, Mr. and Mrs. O. Bingmark and two children, Mr. and Mrs. M. Nystrom and one child, Mr. and Mrs. C. Blomberg and one child, Miss A. Gustafson, Miss C. Hall, Miss E. Erickson and one child, Mr. A. E. Palm, Mr. and Mrs. O. Forsberg and one child.

SCANDINAVIAN ALLIANCE MONGOLIAN MISSION.

Mr. D. Sternberg, Mr. C. Suber, Miss H. Lund, Miss Clara Anderson, Miss H. Anderson.

AMERICAN BOARD MISSION.

Rev. and Mrs. E. R. Atwater and four children, Rev. and Mrs. D. H. Clapp, Rev. F. W. Davis, Rev. and Mrs. C. W. Price and one child, Rev. H. T. Pitkin, Rev. G. L. Williams, Miss Bird, Miss A. A. Gould, Miss Partridge, Miss M. S. Morrill.

John Innocent

AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN MISSION.

Rev. and Mrs. F. E. Simcox, Dr. and Mrs. C. V. R. Hodge, Dr. G. Y. Taylor (these were killed at Paotingfu).

1900 Rev. F. H. James, Peking.

1901 Rev. J. Stonehouse, L.M.S., Peking.

1905 October 28th, Rev. J. R. and Mrs. Peale at Lienchow. Canton Province: Dr. Eleanor Chesnut, Mrs. Machle, Amy Machle, of the American Presbyterian Mission.

1906 February 22nd, Mr. H. C. Kingham (Brethren Mission), Mrs. Kingham and 1 child, Nanchang.

1906 July 13th, Rev. R. J. J. Macdonald, M.D., Wesleyan Mission, by pirates on West River, Canton.

Total, 221, including Children.

LIST OF ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS, PRIESTS AND NUNS KILLED IN 1900.

Manchuria, 12; Mongolia, 7; Shansi, 12; Chihli, 4; Hunan, 2; Peking, 7; total, 44. N.B.—This list is probably not complete.

The first news of the safety of our missionaries was conveyed to the Secretary in a telegram from Mrs. Candlin. Mr. and Mrs. Hinds were in Tientsin, and passed through the severe hardships of the siege. Mr. Robinson and family, Mr. Hedley and family, and Dr. and Mrs. Jones were in Chu Chia, which was the position of the greatest peril. They had to leave in the middle of the night, Sunday, June 17th, guarded by Yuen Hsih K'ai's soldiers, and found their way to the coast in the way we have already described. Mr. Candlin sent his family to Taku for safety about the 12th of June, remaining at Tangshan to share the fortunes of the mining and railway employees. The foreigners at Tangshan also left in a body on the 17th of June, on an armoured train which conveyed them to Pei tai ho. They were sent round by sea to Chefoo. At Taku Mrs. Candlin and family were put on board an American gunboat with others, and were under fire during the bombardment of the Forts. From thence

they made their way to Shanghai where Mr. Candlin joined them a week later.

Nearly all our chapels were destroyed, and the houses at Chu Chia were torn to the ground. The great majority of our members suffered severely in person and property. The hardships which some of them passed through equalled, if they did not surpass, in intensity those of the martyrs themselves. A number of incidents are given in "Our Mission in China," and these are only types of what took place in hundreds of cases. The story of Li Fu, one of our preachers, who was terribly maltreated, told by himself, thrills with horror, and makes us wonder in what land of savages these cruelties were inflicted. We have room for only a few extracts from the account of one who, of all who lived to tell the tale, was the most maltreated.

He refused to leave the village of Pai Ko Chuang until he first ascertained that the members were willing for him to go. Then he had difficulty in getting carts, but at length secured some, and going to the end of the village, leading his little daughter by the hand, to look for them, he suddenly heard the sound of gongs and firing of cannon coming from the village:—

"A great body of people were assembled all wearing red turbans and carrying swords, and calling out that they must take up the 'enchantments.' They surrounded my little daughter and myself, and asked if I was Teacher Li. I said, 'Yes.' Then they seized me by the queue. I begged them whatever they did to me, not to harm my little girl, and I let go her hand that she might run away. They approached me with their swords and fired a shot through my right shoulder. I was at the same time struck with a sword, and pierced in my left side with a spear. I heard voices calling,

John Innocent

'Bring his wife!' 'Pull down the chapel!' They surrounded the chapel, and broke down the doors and windows. My wife was dragged out by the hair, carrying her child of two months old. She had been struck in the eye with a pistol barrel, and the blood was trickling down her face. My little boy, Joseph, followed her out. His right arm and his back had been hurt with a spear. I saw my little girl, nine years old, being pulled along, her face all dyed with blood, and her hand thrust through with a knife. Johnny I could not find. They dragged us all to a temple at the east end of the village, where the Boxers 'drilled,' and bound us all to trees. They then commenced beating me fiercely over the head with the handle of a sickle. I called out to the Lord several times, when they exclaimed: 'He still calls on the Lord! Beat him! Beat him! Beat him!' They only stopped beating when I had fainted away. I recovered consciousness to still find myself bound hand and foot. I said to my wife: 'We shall die together to-day.' She said, 'Yes,' and I fainted again. When I recovered I was aware of my little babe lying beside the road crying. They had flung the child there when they bound my wife. Little Johnny, unharmed, stood beside his sister. The other son sat at his mother's feet weeping.

"We were all very thirsty, and I begged for some water. They flung water over us, and said: 'There, you are not thirsty now!' One of them asked me where I had placed my number 108 enchantment. To this I replied, 'I have no enchantments.' 'Our leader says you have put down an enchantment somewhere.' 'If your leader knows that I have laid enchantments he should know where I have put them,' was my reply.

"A number of renowned Boxers arrived from Tz'ü

Yü T'o armed. They asked me where the enchantments were. I could only sigh and ask the Lord to let me die soon. My left thumb nail was taken off with a sword, I was beaten about the shoulders with a spade. Still I could only sigh, and beseech the Lord to take me soon. Then they commenced burning my right eye, and also both shoulders with a torch. 'Gouge his eyes out! Chop off his arms!' Then came again the clang of gongs, and a cry that the leader was coming. The leader cried for the woman to be brought to him. My wife was dragged away, and knocked down with a stick. I did not mind for myself, but was sorely grieved for my wife and children.

"The Boxers lifted their swords, and cried: 'Bring his box, and let our leader see his spells, the paper men, paper horses, and poisonous drugs.' The box was brought to the temple and broken open with a sword, whereupon a number of them fell prostrate, pretending to be stifled by the odour of drugs. Water was sprinkled on them, and they got up exclaiming: 'How strong the drug is! How strong the drug is!' They professed that they were afraid I would escape, and said I must be hamstrung. Two men dragged me outside the village, held me down, pressing my waist with a stick, threw more water over me, and cut the tendons above my heels with a sword. They were about to do the same to my wife but were prevented."

Strangely enough a cart from another village came along the road with eight Christian men and women on it, escorted by six strong Boxers. Li and his family were made to accompany them. The wildest proposals were made by this Boxer mob. Some were for burying them alive. Others proposed to slay them at a temple near the city. They were only saved from this

fate by one of the village constables, who insisted that they must be judged and put to death by an official. The carts, with their pitiful load of prisoners, arrived at the city in the early dawn. Their persecutors had had these people in their hands hovering between life and death all that fearful night. At the gates where they halted the onlookers repeated the same menacing words: "The chief leader will be here soon, and then they will be put to death." As they had come along, those about the cart professed to be offended by a strong odour of drugs emanating from the prisoners and in the daylight, Mr. Li tells us:—

"For the first time I realized that my whole body was covered with a yellow powder, from which issued a sulphurous smell."

How it got on them he did not know. Presumably it was some concoction thrown on them in a spirit of fiendish horseplay by their persecutors themselves. The narrative continues:—

"The day was very hot, my children were crying to their mother for water. My wife begged the bystanders in pity to bring them a cup of water, but no one responded. At this time, thanks be to God, a strange peace filled my heart. I had not the least fear. I forgot my bonds and my wounds, and felt that we should soon be in a new world. I smiled on my wife, and asked her if she was at peace. She restrained her tears, but made no reply. Someone, who was in the yamên, brought us food and water at length."

Li Fu was imprisoned in the yamên for sixty days. The American Methodist preacher in the city contrived to get food to him. He was only released eventually on a strong representation made to the official by Mr. Hinds from Tientsin. What an experience! Truly

Li Fu was the martyr who only *did not die*. This one instance must serve to represent to us the sufferings which, in a greater or less degree, hundreds of our members shared. Most of them had to hide in the grain fields for weeks, hovering as wretched outlaws about the neighbourhood of their homes and farm lands.

A great monument has been erected in Shanghai commemorative of the martyrs, Chinese and English, and on the North China Mission, at Tangkuantun, at Chu Chia and Ts'ang Shang, and in Tangshan and Yung P'ing Circuits suitable memorial tablets preserve the memory of the witnesses who were "faithful unto death."

The consequences which followed this great outbreak were so immense that it is impossible to treat them with any adequacy in the space at our disposal. Originally intended to effect the absolute annihilation of all missionary work, and the complete severance of all foreign influence and foreign intercourse with China, its results have been a revolution in public sentiment the exact opposite of what it aimed at. If ever there was an instance in which we might say that God caused "the wrath of men to praise Him," this was pre-eminently one. It has done for us at a stroke what we could never have done for ourselves. It has done more to promote Chinese intercourse with foreigners than all the history of the previous half-century. It has flooded China with foreign trade. It has advanced national reform to such a height that the reforms against which it was so passionate a protest are now antiquated in the presence of more far-reaching measures already adopted. It has made the most conservative of nations the most eager for change. It has made the whole nation, women as much as men, intensely eager for the

knowledge of European languages, science and literature. It has even knocked the opium traffic on the head. It has been the death-blow to the idolatrous worship of which it was so weird and sanguinary an exhibition, caused innumerable temples to be turned into schools, and deprived the rest of two-thirds of their revenue. It for ever disabused the mind of the Christian world of the idea that the Churches were accomplishing but little, and that such converts as there were, were mercenary and insincere. It showed, in the most vivid manner, that while foreigners were far too much disposed to underrate the influence of missions, the Chinese themselves were still more disposed to overrate it. Prince Tuan and Yü Hsien could find the genuine Christians which foreign critics had not known how to look for. It steadied, chastened, solemnized our Churches, and gave them a deep sense of the earnest meaning and responsibility attaching to their profession of faith. It has been a powerful factor in drawing the Churches into unity. It has called for entirely new methods of mission work, involving a new attitude towards China's people, her customs and institutions, and her religious beliefs. It was a flash of lightning, awaking terror and striking blindly, out of which a new China has grown.

That the subject of this story was out of all this wild storm, was settled quietly in retirement in England long before it began, may be accounted a fitting and gracious dispensation of Providence. Even at the distance at which he was placed the interest and excitement were intense enough. Had he been on the field at that advanced period of life the shock to him would have been undoubtedly severe. His friend of many years, the Rev. Jonathan Lees, passed through



City Corner Chapel. Tientsin : Opening Service.

Revs. J. Hinds and G. T. Candlin in the pulpit, with two of the Native Pastors.

the siege of Tientsin, and was so profoundly affected by what he saw that he never recovered from the shock. A kindly hand had guided Mr. Innocent home in time, and the pain of seeing many to whom he had been long attached suffer so terribly was spared him. God had made merciful provision for him.

CHAPTER XXV.

RETIREMENT.

WE now take up again the thread of Mr. Innocent's story, and trace the incidents which marked the period of his retirement in England. He returned from China in the spring of 1897. The Conference that year was held at Sheffield. When the Conference assembled it unanimously elected him as its President. The honour was greatly enhanced by two circumstances. Sheffield was his native town, where he had worked as a boy, and from which he had been sent forth as a missionary. The year was also the centenary year of the Connexion. To occupy the chair for that year was a coveted privilege. Mr. Innocent discharged the duties of his office with capacity, dignity and courtesy. He had for many years held the position of chairman of the mission in China. The Conference honoured itself in his appointment. He would be an impressive figure in the chair. Sixty-eight years of age, he was yet well-preserved outwardly (North China spares the features in a remarkable way), his figure, though not tall, was erect, he had light eyes, a kindly expression of countenance, a deep voice, a very measured utterance. He had a large head, fair hair, hardly a grey one to be seen, and a long, silky, straw-coloured beard, which in England might be envied, but amongst the Chinese was a perfect wonder. His bearing was always peculiarly reverent. Though his figure was not built on the large model of the conventional hero, his appearance was that of one who was every inch a veteran.

Mr. Innocent's election not only gave great pleasure to the many who loved him in England, but was a source of unusual joy and satisfaction to those in China. Though our members there are not kept as well informed in regard to Connexional doings as members in the English Circuits, very many of them, and especially our Chinese ministry, know enough to be very proud that one who belonged to them, who was their honoured father, had been made head of the Church. To Mr. Innocent's missionary colleagues, his appointment was a great gratification. It was taken as signifying that the China Mission was an integral part of the Connexion, not an extra to the whole, or a set-off of which it might be proud, but a part of the whole, and, therefore, entitled to share all its privileges and honours.

Mr. Innocent chose Nottingham as a place of residence. There he found a pleasant circle of friends; the Mission Secretary, the Rev. G. Packer, also lived there, and it was fairly central, and, therefore, convenient for deputation work. At first it was by no means Mr. Innocent's intention to remain in England. In fact, he was actually appointed as Principal of the Training Institution in 1899, and was looking forward to an early departure for China. It so happened that he was under the doctor's hands for some disorder just then, and he casually mentioned to that gentleman that he was expecting soon to leave for China. "What! You going to China? That will never do." "Why not?" queried Mr. Innocent. "Well," replied the doctor, "I had not intended telling you, but if there is any question of going abroad it is my duty to inform you that you are threatened with an attack of diabetes, and the climate of China would be fatal to you. You must

not think of going." Mr. Innocent did not take this as final. Dr. Marshall was on furlough at the time, and as he had often treated Mr. Innocent in China, and had considerable knowledge of his constitution, it was arranged for the two medical men to consult on the case. They did so, and the result was adverse. Very reluctantly Mr. Innocent abandoned the purpose of returning to the field. Personally we never quite acquiesced in this decision. It is a very daring thing to say we know. It is serious enough having an opinion when "doctors differ." When they are agreed, to dissent may seem like treason. But, so far as we know Mr. Innocent never *had* diabetes. It was only incipient. The climate of North China is splendid, and there is nothing to show that the liability to develop such a disease would be greater there than in England. Certainly what the Mission Secretary, the Rev. G. Packer, said at the funeral at Forest Hill, was too true:—

"It was to his deep regret that the precarious condition of his health precluded his putting on the armour again, and though not rebellious, it is to be feared that this disappointment tinged his last years with sadness. Though compelled to remain in England, his heart was really in the land of Sinim, and many there whom he had led to Christ, and who had hoped to see his venerable form again, were not less disappointed and distressed."

The disappointment was quite as great on the part of Mrs. Innocent. But the die was cast. At the Conference of 1900, Mr. Innocent became a supernumerary, was made a Guardian Representative, and a permanent member of the Missionary Committee. In recognition of his long services his allowance from the Beneficent Society was supplemented with an annual grant of £50

from the funds of the mission. The seven years spent by Mr. Innocent in England, after his return, may be called the labourer's rest. They marked his life, as a full life, well-rounded and complete. Counting only to the period when he reached England, he had spent forty-five years in ministerial service, thirty-eight of which were passed as a Chinese missionary, and, after this long toil, seven years of earthly rest. Even then, rest did not mean inactivity. His attendance at Missionary Committee meetings was seldom or never missed. His experience and knowledge of the work were of special value to the Committee. He also did a considerable amount of work as a deputation to the Circuits at missionary anniversaries. The work was always congenial to him, his presence was always welcome, and to the full measure of his strength he continued to advocate the cause in the service of which he had given all he had to give, the whole of his working life. Could any better testimony be given that the work itself is worth the doing?

"It shall come to pass that at evening time there shall be light." That ancient promise made through Zechariah was never more signally fulfilled. Very gently the same hand, which had guided him to England, that he might be taken away from the evil to come, was also very gentle in removing him from this earthly sphere. He never showed his beautiful character to more advantage than during those declining years, sloping very gently, very calmly to the time when his sun must set. And when at last it set, it set in gold. To some of us altogether the most blessed feature in our revered father's instructive life was the sweet and tender radiance, as of calm, peaceful and holy sunset, which rested on those latter years. To mark at the last, that

mellowing, ripening growth, like full autumn in all its fruitful bounty ; to find him so gentle, so wise, so ready to counsel, so fulfilled in calm restfulness ; his manifest, all-absorbing love for the work he could no longer take part in ; his unfailing thought for those he had left in the thick of battle—these were among the most elevating things we have ever witnessed ; these were the unfolding of the flower of sainthood in all its rare fragrance and beauty. It was as though, in the arduous and struggling life of the missionary, while the strong base of a holy character was being firmly established, the softer and more delicate shades of Christlike manhood were liable to be missed, and as though God had reserved these final, quiet years in which to add the finished excellence of perfect love. When his triumphant soul ebbed away on that November morning in the home at Forest Hill, with the word “Glory” on his lips, that word was at once the sealing word of a life of Christlike ministerial devotion now rounded and complete, and the prophetic word of the ransomed spirit on the very threshold of his reward, and about to receive the “crown of life” that “fadeth not away.”

The following interesting and beautiful account of Mr. Innocent's last days, and of the circumstances attending his death, is from the pens of Mrs. Innocent and Mrs. Shrubshall:—

“In February, 1904, Mr. Innocent was engaged in deputation work in the Midlands, and caught a severe cold. On February 28th he was taken very ill with pneumonia at his home in Nottingham, and afterwards with acute inflammation and severe pain in his left ear, which gave him scarcely any rest day or night, for about four months. On April 11th, Dr. Mutch (of Nottingham) wished to have a consultation with Dr. Stenhouse.

The doctors agreed in their diagnosis of the case, and Dr. Stenhouse suggested a change, and invited Mr. and Mrs. Innocent to Arnold, and they went there on April 22nd, and stayed until May 10th. The invalid was much benefited by the change. Returning to Nottingham on May 10th, Dr. Mutch advised going on to Bedford to stay with Mrs. J. W. Innocent, and they went on there on the 13th. On the 24th, Mr. Innocent was seized with sudden pain. A doctor was called in, and said he was suffering from pleurisy. On June 10th he had another attack of pleurisy, and on June 28th a third attack—all of which left the patient very weak. On August 11th Mr. and Mrs. Innocent went to Woburn Sands to stay with their daughter-in-law, Mrs. J. W. Innocent, and from there on August 10th, they went to Brighton. The long journey was too much for the invalid, and that night he had another attack of pleurisy (severe pain and fever), which, however, yielded to treatment, and in two or three days the patient was able to be about again. On September 20th, Mrs. Innocent went to Nottingham to pack up ready for removing to Forest Hill, and on the 29th, she went there to get the house in order. Mr. Innocent left Brighton for Forest Hill on October 1st. He was much better than he had been all the year, though the least extra exertion was too much for him.

“On November 13th mission services were held at Forest Hill, and Mr. Innocent spoke at the evening meeting about Li wan k'u. The weather was very foggy, and he had a bad night. On the 14th Mr. and Mrs. Innocent went to tea at Mr. Bullen's. On the 15th they went to pay some bills. Mr. Innocent was breathing very badly. On the 17th he was worse, so Dr. White was sent for, who said he was suffering

John Innocent

from congestion of the lungs. On the 21st the patient was a little better, and the doctor said he might get up. He sat up two hours. Had a bad night. On the 23rd pneumonia developed, and a night nurse was sent for.

"On Sunday, November 27th, my well-beloved husband was very ill all day. The doctor in attendance telegraphed for Dr. Shrubshall. He and Kate came about five o'clock. Father was so pleased, and looked so relieved to see them. During the evening Mr. Bullen came upstairs to see the dear invalid, and prayed with him. As Mr. Bullen was going away, he said 'God bless you, old friend,' and the sufferer answered: 'He does bless me.' Our loved one had a dreadful night of pain, sad to see; he prayed audibly for his loved ones, mentioning each by name, and blessed them all. During the night he several times said: 'Nothing in my hand I bring, Simply to Thy Cross I cling,' and 'Other Refuge have I none, Hangs my helpless soul on Thee,' and once he asked the time, and, when told, he said: 'The Lord delayeth His coming.' He was very peaceful, and towards morning more restful. At eight o'clock I saw a change on his dear face, and, breathing quietly and smoothly, he rested, as a tired child on its mother's breast, at 8.40 a.m. on November 28th.

"He was laid to rest in Lewisham Cemetery on December 1st. Many beautiful floral tributes of affection and respect were sent, and friends from far and near gathered to follow him to his last resting-place.

"Part of the funeral service was conducted in Trinity Church, Forest Hill.

"On the following Sunday a memorial service was held in Trinity Church, and the sermon was preached by the Rev. T. Selby, late of China.



Dr. W. W. Shrubshall.

"We had lived in the 'Regions Beyond.' Now I follow him in thought to the 'Innumerable Company' in the Homeland. He went quietly to sleep on earth, and waked to the joys of Heaven! When I saw him laid in mother earth, my spirit went to his spirit in communion. I scarcely heard the service, thinking all the time, 'He is not here.'

"As one by one my friends leave this world, I think of them among the many gathered above, and joy in their reunion with loved ones there. Such a gathering! First Mrs. Hall, then my Alfie in Chu Chia, then my Arthur lying at the foot of Mrs. Hall's grave in Tientsin, then Mr. Hall, Dr. Mackenzie, Dr. Roberts; my George in the Happy Valley, Hong-Kong; my Annie in North Shields, Mr. Hodge in Gateshead, Mr. Turnock in England, my darling partner in Lewisham. So separated in death—but one family above. Mr. Lees at Worthing; all the dear Chinese friends, so many! 'Shining as the stars'!

"How true the promises:—

"'Lo, I am with you alway, even to the end.'

"'I will come again; and receive you unto Myself.'

"'Where I am, there shall My servants be.'"

* * * * *

A few words descriptive of Mr. Innocent's personal characteristics must bring this work to a close. Perhaps his most admirable quality of mind was great tenacity of purpose. Having once set an object before him, he held to it with a quiet, undemonstrative perseverance which nothing could overcome. He was by no means an ambitious man. It was not in his nature to put himself to the front. The honours which came to him came naturally, neither coveted nor sought. Modest and unobtrusive, the position he took among missionaries

John Innocent

was the result of his own native worth, assisted by no art or device. It was the fidelity and steadfastness with which he kept the noble aims of his life ever before him that distinguished him amongst his fellows. He was not to be turned aside by evil report or good report. He did not win his way by strife or controversy, to which he was particularly averse. He did not break down opposition; he wore it down, and wore it out. This dominant quality made his life's experience continuous and consistent; it kept his life's work whole and unbroken. This it was that made him so steadfast and loyal in his affections, so that, once your friend, he was your lifelong friend. It fitted him admirably for life among the Chinese. Tenacious perseverance, soft and yielding to contact, but unswerving in aim and endeavour, is a prime quality for the Chinese people. They could, therefore, appreciate such a character; they held it in high esteem, and well understood the silent strength of a man who did not keep his strength in evidence, but won upon them by gentleness and kindness.

He was distinguished as a man by great courtesy and suavity of manner, and this was the quality which struck most men on first acquaintance. While he had in him a swift flash of momentary anger, which, however, was kept in strict subjection, and only on the very rarest occasions displayed itself, he was in temperament calm and equable to a degree. "Not easily provoked" might be his epitaph. One who knew him well remarks how, long ago, his first five minutes spent in Mr. Innocent's presence was quite a revelation of gentlemanliness. And this quality in him was by no means superficial, but reached down to the very roots of his nature. Instinctively, and in his inmost essence,

he was a gentleman. Hence, notwithstanding his peculiar tenacity of purpose, he had no rancours, no animosities. He never imagined that those who crossed him were personal enemies, nor ascribed their opposition to evil motives, as less kindly natures are so apt to do. Perhaps no missionary has ever held quite the same position in the esteem of the Tientsin community as Mr. Innocent. He owed this, in the main, to his gentlemanliness, not only of manner and bearing, but of nature. The relations subsisting between missionaries and other Western classes in an Eastern port are not always of the most cordial description. Mr. Innocent was welcomed to circles from which other missionaries were tabooed. If a question was asked, "Mr. Innocent is always a gentleman" was the reply. Not a few were greatly influenced for good by one who was thoroughly at home in their society, yet could be trusted to uphold the high standard of Christian character among men of very different lives from his own.

Mr. Innocent was distinguished for hospitality. Perhaps the chief credit for this should be given rather to his partner than to himself, but he was also at all times a ready and liberal host. Not only was the home in Tientsin open to a wide fellowship of coming and going missionaries, some of whose visits were very extended, lasting not infrequently for months, but a large number of residents, especially bachelors without homes, were fond of dropping in to tea, or spending an hour in the evening, in the home especially distinguished for hospitality. The Innocents, in fact, had been in Tientsin from the very early days. Foreign Tientsin had barely begun to be when they arrived, so that to write a full history of Mr. Innocent's life would be to sketch the growth of a community which includes, at

John Innocent

the present time, British, American, German, French, Russian and Japanese concessions, with a population of several thousand people. Even this gives no adequate idea of the importance of the port to the ordinary English mind. A population of 10,000 people here counts for more than 100,000 would at home. When the Innocents first came to Tientsin there were only some two or three families here, and they but lately arrived. For many years, in the early days when everyone visited everyone, and in the isolation of Eastern residence, all Western people were drawn together with peculiar closeness, and social life afforded the only means of relaxation, the home in the mission compound was, perhaps, though modest enough in appointments, the most important home, all things considered, in Tientsin. Mr. Innocent rejoiced in a very large circle of friends and acquaintances. He knew Laurence Oliphant, was moderately intimate with General Gordon, with Sir Thomas Wade, Sir Robert Hart, with Dr. Edkins, Chalmers, Legge, Douglas, Eitel, Shereschewsky and many other great Chinese scholars and sinologists.

As a preacher, Mr. Innocent was a fair type of what was best in the old school of thinkers and teachers. He was not specially versatile or much given to speculation, but had wide mental sympathies, was kind and liberal in his attitude toward men of all shades of thought, was as far removed from dogmatism as it is possible to be, and from him the earnest thinker of daring views had nothing to fear. In the pulpit he was always reverent and earnest, and whether in English or Chinese was an "acceptable" preacher; his conduct of the service, as well as his exposition of the Sacred Word, being always impressive. While his style in composi-

tion was somewhat of an early date, as was evident from the solid gravity of his sentences, the complete absence of anything that merged on humour, or might savour of impropriety, the invariable use of the prepositions "into" and "unto," it was always excellent and charged with meaning. At his best he broke into an eloquence of a high and impressive character, and all hearts beat responsive to his own manifest emotion. He was diligent and faithful in the discharge of all his pulpit duties.

The following testimonies from people well acquainted with Mr. Innocent will be read with interest:—

The Rev. J. ROBINSON writes:—

"Our Connexion has been greatly honoured in Mr. Innocent's life and work. As his colleague for nearly a quarter of a century, it was my privilege to watch the thoroughness and progress of his work as a missionary. There was nothing spasmodic, fitful or haphazard in that work. His aims were always high, and his plans methodic, while his success was satisfactory and widespread.

"In addition to troubles arising directly from his work, Mr. Innocent has had his full share of domestic affliction, and it was during these painful experiences that he displayed the most beautiful spirit of resignation and submission to the Divine Will that I ever witnessed in any Christian. Sea captains, with whom he travelled for a season, were invariably charmed with his lofty conversation and gentlemanly bearing. Civil and military officers, with whom he frequently came in contact, saw in him something superior to the estimate they had been led to form of men of his calling. Tradesmen and merchants were always ready to accord to him a high position of moral excellence, sound in-

John Innocent

tegrity, and sublime devotion to duty. A Taku pilot confessed to me on one occasion that, of all the Christians he knew, Mr. Innocent was the ideal man, the man to whom, more than to any other, he could unburden his sorrows and tell his deepest secrets, and whom, more than any other, he should desire about him in the last hours of his life. The outside heathen were attracted to him by his pleasing manner and his genial smile, while his converts, looking on his benign countenance, knew that they looked upon 'the disciple whom Jesus loved.'

"Not many men can be classed with John Innocent. Among missionaries he shines very much alone, and in a sphere of his own. There was a remarkable combination of qualities radiant in his character that made him a favourite everywhere and in all societies. His goodness attracted and fascinated people, and held them with a spell."

C. W. KINDER, Esq., C.M.G., of Tangshan, writes:

"He invariably struck me as a man devoid of all tendency to attract attention to himself or his doctrines by methods considered legitimate by many preachers. He relied on no high-sounding phrases or mannerism, but was ever eloquent in his simple faith in the goodness of Christ first and mankind next."

Rev. C. S. CHANG writes:—

"Diligent and painstaking as a preacher, considerate and generous in his conduct toward men."

Rev. J. HINDS writes:—

"In the passing of Mr. Innocent we must all feel that the mission has sustained a loss which cannot be made good. We were so intimately associated with him, and owed so much to his fatherly counsel and wise judgment, that I, for one, feel as if something had

gone out of my life. My first appointment in China was in Tientsin with Mr. Innocent, and the earliest journeys I took to Shantung and Tong Shan were taken in company with him. The friendship thus begun lasted through the years, and became more intimate towards the close. After he retired from the active work of the mission, the coming of his letters was always looked forward to by me with great interest, and in his death I have lost a true friend."

Rev. F. B. TURNER writes:—

"I should like to add my tribute of respect for Mr. Innocent's memory.

"When he returned to China in 1887 for the last time I had just been appointed to the mission, and accompanied him on that voyage, and ever since I have had frequent intercourse with him, both in the way of mission business, and in the privacy of his home life. To me and to my wife he was always like a father, and we can never forget the kindness he always showed us, especially in times of trouble. He was a man whom little children loved, and in whose company all shyness passed away. I well remember my little Millie having a vigorous argument with his little grandson George, who disputed Millie's statement that he was her grandpa, too. No wonder that his kindly, gracious manner won all hearts. And how whole-hearted was his devotion to the interests of the mission! I have often thought of his last years in Tientsin, when difficult matters of business were frequently coming up. I often went late at night to see and consult with him, and I always found him, at whatever hour, glad to receive me, and ready to put off much-needed rest that we might discuss and settle the matter in hand.

"All over these Shantung Circuits his name is frag-

rant in the memory of the Chinese, and his faithful ministry is still bearing, as it has already borne, much fruit. There will have been many from far Cathay to meet and welcome him as he entered the upper world, and to rejoice in their reunion with one who :

‘ Allur’d to brighter worlds, and led the way.’ ”

Dr. STANLEY, of A.B.C.F. Mission, writes :—

“ As I look back over nearly forty years of close association with Mr. Innocent in missionary work at Tientsin, I think of him more as a ‘ brother beloved ’ than in any other way. Our two families were much thrown together in mutual experiences of both sadness and sorrow, and of joy and gladness, and so our intimacy and fraternal relations became very close and tender. Such associations are sacred, and the memory of them can never fade. They are like oases in the great world-desert of human woe and weariness and sin. How they help to lighten the path when some obstruction has apparently blocked the way, and hope seems likely to be crushed in disappointment !

“ The quiet manner in which he entered into the feelings of others, and sympathized with them in their varied disappointments, endeared him to all who came into intimate relations with him. Doubtless the work of grace in his own heart had much to do with this characteristic of his Christian life. He felt that love and sympathy went a long way in softening the hard places in life’s journey, and so was not slow in giving it. He recognized existing conditions, and was ever alert to meet them with whatever methods the circumstances seemed to indicate, be they new or old. He was fully assured that the ‘ old story ’—‘ old yet ever new ’—understood, believed and lived, was the only

force able to regenerate and reclaim this sin-ruined world. So he believed, so he laboured; and, though fallen asleep, he lives and speaks to those who had found an entrance into his heart."

Rev. A. KING, of the London Mission, Tientsin, writes:—

"Mr. Innocent was one of the first friends I made when I came to Tientsin twenty-five years ago, and it was good to have a friend like him, so sincere, so loyal, so sympathetic. Behind his quiet, unassuming manner I discovered a strong personality. He was a valuable friend to young missionaries, and he proved a helper to many.

"By reason of the weight of his experience, the sanity of his judgment, and the catholicity of his mind, he was a leader in the mission circle at Tientsin. And his influence extended into the whole community. It is only stating the bare truth to say that no man in our cosmopolitan society was more highly esteemed than Mr. Innocent; and he was a greatly-needed link of connection between the business men and the American and British missionaries. While unyielding in matters of principle, he was always conciliatory.

"For a number of years he acted as honorary pastor of our Union Church, and in that capacity also he rendered invaluable service to the whole community."

EDMUND COUSINS, Esq., of Sale (late of Tientsin), writes:—

"‘There was a man sent from God whose name was John.’ No more fitting epitaph could be found for the subject of Mr. Candlin’s Memoir. As a fellow-resident in Tientsin, I had the privilege of an intimate personal acquaintance with Mr. Innocent dating back for close upon a quarter of a century, and, in acceding to the

request of his old colleague in the North China mission field, to add, as a layman, a few words to what he has written, I feel sure that I am rightly interpreting the wishes of those many other friends of various nationalities and pursuits who, in greater or less degree, shared that undoubted privilege.

“That a fine old Christian gentleman has passed away in the person of John Innocent everyone who knew him will entirely agree. His was verily a winning, gentle soul, without guile, of the rare quality that ever compels the love of young and old, and it is scarcely conceivable that he never made an enemy. His peculiar gentleness of disposition was of the kind that appealed most irresistibly to the Chinese amongst whom he worked as a missionary; and, in brief, it is not too much to say that he possessed the deep and true respect of everyone with whom he came in contact.”

The Rev. J. H. PYKE, of the American Methodist Mission, writes:—

“The news of Mr. Innocent’s death has filled me with sorrow, and stirred the memories of the early years of my missionary life in China. We arrived in Tientsin in December, 1873, and to our surprise found a large and delightful missionary community, representing four of the large societies in England and the United States.

“The senior missionaries at that time were Mr. and Mrs. Innocent, Mr. and Mrs. Lees, Mr. and Mrs. Stanley, and Mr. and Mrs. Hodge. Mr. Hall, of your society, was then in England, but one could not be long in Tientsin without hearing much of him. His name was on every one’s lips.

“Next to Mr. Hall, Mr. Innocent was perhaps the most influential and impressive personality in the missionary circle, if not in the settlement. His large, in-

tellectual head, benevolent features, expressive face, and long flowing beard attracted attention at once, while a warm, affectionate nature, courteous, winsome speech, highly cultured, at the same time, courteous, almost courtly bearing, made a most agreeable impression, which soon deepened to sincere regard and high esteem and affection. With many others we often went into Mr. and Mrs. Innocent's house after the Sunday evening service in the Union Church, or after the Wednesday evening prayer-meeting. For every comer there was always a warm welcome, a cup or two of the best tea, with a sandwich and a piece of delicious cake. Then there was delightful conversation, social, intellectual, spiritual flavoured with quiet humour and flashes of wit. Being an inexperienced missionary, I often went to Mr. Innocent, as to a father, for information and advice. I was always received with cordial sympathy and wise counsel, faithfully administered. I recall one or two occasions with special gratitude. Both Mr. and Mrs. Innocent treated us younger missionaries, and many outside of the missionary circle, with the greatest parental kindness and care. Never will myself or wife forget how they both came to us in time of sorest trial and affliction, at great inconvenience and personal risk, and remained with us until the mother was out of danger, and well on the way to recovery, and our first-born was laid to rest in the lonely little cemetery at Taku. Neither of them hesitated because the disease was the loathsome and contagious one of small-pox. It was all the more deeply appreciated because they left the comforts of home and care of their own family, coming a distance of fifty miles, in the heat of a North China summer, unsolicited, unexpected. They had heard we were alone and in trouble, and they

John Innocent

hastened with relief and comfort. Their lives were filled with service both to foreigners and Chinese. They lived (in China) for others, and so found the highest happiness in the greatest usefulness. A beautiful missionary spirit and life! So perfectly were their lives joined in spirit and labour that it is difficult to think or speak of the one without the other.

"I have not spoken of Brother (Father) Innocent as a preacher or missionary. He was always earnest, thorough, reverential, solid, often very effective and impressive. He was always heard with attention, respect, and profit. He was equally good in Chinese or English. William N. Hall, Jonathan Lees, John Innocent, Henry Blodget, four among the earliest missionaries to Tientsin and North China, earnest, consecrated, noble men, gone to rest and reward! It seems to me none quite so good or great since. How the thought turns to the bereft and lonely sorrowing widow (and widows), worthy companion of a heroic saint, and prayer ascends for consolation and sustaining grace until the time of reunion."

The Rev. A. H. SMITH, D.D., writes:—

"In the year 1872, when the writer of these lines arrived in Tientsin, there were three senior missionaries: Mr. Innocent, Mr. Hall and Mr. Lees, of the London Mission, each of them a striking figure. The China of that day was a widely different country from the rapidly-changing Empire of to-day. Tientsin proved to be one of the most difficult spots in which to make a beginning, and upon which to make any permanent impression. The beginnings of all missions are difficult, and those in North China, in the years preceding and following the Tientsin massacre of 1870, not less so than elsewhere. Mr. Innocent was the centre of

gravity of the mission to which he belonged, steady, deliberate, cautious, trustworthy. A member of another mission said of him: 'I always like to meet Mr. Innocent, one always finds him *just the same*.'

"In the early days of the temperance movement, on behalf of the sailors on the gunboats which guarded the ports, it was at first something of an effort for 'Uncle John' to throw himself unreservedly into it for the sake of those who were subjected to great temptations, but he did so whole-heartedly and with conspicuous success. As a preacher he was sound and Scriptural, and at a time when lax standards of action were all too prevalent he was not afraid to preach the gospel of law, as well as that of love. In those early days all missionary work, in and about Tientsin, to any but the strongest faith was discouraging. It was surely a providential encouragement, against such great odds, that each of the missions at this port early found unexpected and promising openings at a considerable distance. It was by following up the slender clue thus afforded that the wide-spreading Lao Ling field was entered. A visitor from another mission, cognizant of the labours of Mr. Innocent and Mr. Hall, once said to the writer: 'See what those two men have done!'

"Mr. Innocent was long the *de facto* pastor of the pastorless Union Church, and to him every one, who was in any trouble, was almost certain to find his way. Mrs. Innocent, whom those who knew her well and loved her much, always called 'Aunt Jane,' was an *ex-officio* Mother in Israel to everybody. What she did not know about housekeeping, nursing and things in general might well be relegated to the unknowable. She was always at the call of all those in trouble, and her invaluable services were most lovingly rendered.

John Innocent

(In this respect Mrs. Innocent, Mrs. Lees, together with Mrs. Stanley, of the American Board Mission, made a trio the like of which we shall probably never see again.)

“‘It is a blessed thing to lay foundations.’ High on the roll of honour of those who have earned this privilege will always be found the names of John and Jane Innocent.”

The following was sent to Mrs. J. Innocent by the Tientsin Missionary Association, February 6th, 1905 :—

“DEAR MRS. INNOCENT,—The members of the Tientsin Missionary Association have heard with deep sorrow of the death of their beloved friend and fellow-worker, the Rev. John Innocent. Although some of us have sent you personal letters of sympathy, we yet desire unitedly to express our profound sympathy with you in your unspeakable loss, and also to tell you how greatly Mr. Innocent was esteemed by all his fellow-labourers in North China. His genial, kindly spirit, his unfailing courtesy, and his large-heartedness and transparency of character endeared him to all, whether natives or foreigners. As one of the missionary pioneers in North China, his long and successful labours for the conversion of the Chinese people, and his deep enthusiasm in his Master’s service, made his presence a source of encouragement and stimulus to all of us. We valued, too, very highly his wise counsels and his mature judgment. We pray that the God of all consolation may comfort you in your sore bereavement.”

“Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord from henceforth. Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours ; and their works do follow them.” In the opening words of this life story we found another

meaning in these words than that usually attached to them. Yet the sense in which they are commonly taken is also valid, is also full of comfort. John Innocent's works will follow him through that gate where no false glitter, no idle show, no vain clamour, no empty pretence will avail; at which tried "as by fire" only what is true, faithful and genuine, the heart's offering of love, can gain admission—follow him into the very presence of the King. The smile will be sweet which greets the worker and his works. "Their works do follow them." Not all of their works *follow* them. Some of them go before. John Innocent's works, many of them, carried by the purified spirits of ransomed men gone up out of a land of idolatry and darkness—Old Wang, Father Hu, Ting and Shen and Chang, and many others that pilgrimed with him and wrought beside him here, who owe to him so much awakening, instruction, counsel, stimulus, comfort, stay, have gone before, awaited him there—the martyrs who died having sealed their testimony in blood. The greeting "Peace" would be warm on those sin-purged lips as they pressed to witness the meeting with his and their Redeemer, their tribute of gratitude full, and their rejoicing and congratulation loud as the tender hand of Jesus placed on his brow the crown of reward. Going before and following after there are those also which remain behind—remain behind in a precious legacy left with us, now that death has done his utmost. Purified by that stern experience, in the still, calm light of memory; all the shadows of time chased away, all misjudgments of sense removed; remembered words, consecrated example, precious, inexplicable, life-enduring influence, all these lie enshrined in our hearts as a benediction

John Innocent

and an inspiration while time endures. For so long as our mission in China stands, widening in future growth, richer in future good, carrying into the days to come great freightage of blessing, and ennoblement of life—so long as that cherished cause shall be dear to the hearts of our people—so long shall the memory of John Innocent rest over it as a star shedding on it, and on us all,

“The light that never was on sea or land,”

so long shall the name of John Innocent sound as a clarion calling us to like “works” and “labour” and “patience” till our rest be won.

THE END.

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